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**Dixie 'Rebellion'
Is Brewing Again**

JACKSON, Miss., May 31 (UP)—A states' rights movement by deep-South segregationists is being formed today in Mississippi.

W. B. Fontaine, who was executive assistant to the late former Gov. Fielding Wright and a leader in the 1948 bolt of southern states, told United Press his group's goal is to organize Mississippi and other southern states in seeking slates of presidential electors pledged to accept "no compromise" on racial segregation.

Its long-range objective is to throw the presidential election into the House of Representatives, thus enabling the South to bargain for States' rights and segregation. This was the goal of the unsuccessful 1948 rebellion.

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Citizens Council Enters Politics; Dye Fears Rift

By WILLIAM E. KETHX
State Times Staff Writer

The Mississippi Association of Citizens Councils is distributing a resolution suggesting a procedure for throwing the next presidential election into the national House of Representatives.

The resolution would instruct delegates to the Democratic nominating convention in Chicago in August to reserve the state's votes for a "favorite son" candidate if it appears impossible to get a candidate satisfactory to the South.

"If a number of Southern states should follow the procedure, there is, of course, a possibility that this method would work," according to an explanation on the reverse side of the sheet of paper bearing the resolution itself.

Tom J. Tubb, West Point, chairman of the state Democratic executive committee, said he had written to Robert Patterson, executive secretary of the Mississippi Association of Citizens Councils, after receiving a copy of the sheet.

"I told him I think the Citizens Council is making a mistake by getting into politics," said Tubb. "The sheet is devoid of all names, but it came to me in a return envelope marked Citizens Council and postmarked Greenwood."

Reached at his home in Indianola, Patterson said the Citizens Council is not a political organization and merely distributed the resolution "as a public service and matter of information" to "try to keep the people informed."

"The recess convention and the favorite son idea is not new or original," said Patterson. "It is a logical development raised by public opinion based on action of the state legislature and the declaration of principles recently signed by 101 Congressmen."

"If the plan has merit, individuals may carry it further. If not, it will be discarded. We take no stand on anything. We just give the people the facts and let them decide what they want to do. We don't advise, and we don't instruct."

The sheet does not mention the

Council . . .

states that he favors enforcement of U. S. Supreme Court rulings against state enforcement of segregation.

It demands obedience to the Interposition resolution unanimously adopted by the state legislature February 29 declaring the U. S. Supreme Court's anti-segregation decisions "of no lawful effect" in Mississippi and calling on other states and Congress for "redress of grievances."

"By our delegates to the national convention casting their votes for a favorite son as indicated, we would simply be endorsing the current resolution passed unanimously by our legislature," according to the explanation on the sheet.

"If the suggested procedure has any particular merit," the explanation adds, "it is in the possibility that the operation could be carried out within the Democratic Party and thus avoid the necessity of good Democrats bolting the party to preserve their principles."

Citizens Council and bears no names, title or other legend indicating its source, a copy of the sheet at Patterson's request, was made available to the State Times by W. J. Simmons, the council's state administrator, from his office in Jackson.

The sheet suggests that "patriotic Democrats" vote for the resolution at precinct conventions June 5, support delegates to district caucuses at state conventions who are willing to support the resolution and secure its adoption at the state convention.

"If there is any other information you need concerning the precinct meeting or the county convention," the sheet advises the reader to seek assistance from "some public-spirited lawyer in your county, who is outspoken for segregation."

The resolution calls for opposition to any presidential or vice-presidential candidate who "in any manner, whatsoever" indi-

(See COUNCIL on Page 4A)

- Mr. Tolson _____
- Mr. Nichols _____
- Mr. Boardman _____
- Mr. Belmont _____
- Mr. Mason _____
- Mr. Mohr _____
- Mr. Parsons _____
- Mr. Rosen *RT*
- Mr. Tamm _____
- Mr. Nease _____
- Mr. Winterrowd _____
- Tele. Room _____
- Mr. Holloman _____
- Miss Gandy _____

C. F. Williams
M. J. Bowman
W. J. Simmons

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BRAD DYE

members, probably has more Coleman supporters than anybody else, because Gov. Coleman carried that county last summer.

"If Gov. Coleman, acting through the Democratic convention, can come up with a plan to give Mississippi a chance to vote for a president not inimical to Mississippi, then we will be glad to join with him," Dye said Tuesday.

He added, however, that he doubts that Gov. Coleman or anybody else can talk eloquently enough at the national convention to win a national Democratic party platform acceptable to the South on states' rights and segregation.

Dye made his remarks on the eve of the MSR's first statewide rally, set for Wednesday at 2 p.m. at the Heidelberg hotel. He said he did not expect a large crowd at the meeting and explained:

"Mississippians for States Rights won't become important in the thinking of the people until after the national Democratic convention produces a candidate and platform opposed to the interests of the South."

(See DYE on Page 4A)

Dye...

In such a case, Dye was asked, why not wait until after the national convention to rally Mississippians around a plan to pick electors not pledged to either major party?

"Because we know that Gov. Coleman is inclined toward Adlai Stevenson," said Dye, "and Stevenson, whose commitments are becoming increasingly pro-integration, is not going to listen to Mississippi."

He added: "We believe the time has come for the plain, ordinary people of Mississippi to assert themselves. Mississippians for States Rights give them that opportunity."

Dye called upon Mississippians to "consider principles and not local personalities."

Gov. Coleman and Judge McGowan have exchanged a series of written statements, with the governor in his last broadside describing the judge as being "very unhappy because the Republicans recently would not give him the appointment to the United States Court of Appeals he so industrially sought."

- Mr. Tolson.....
- Mr. Nichols.....
- Mr. Boardman ..
- Mr. Belmont ...
- Mr. Mason ..
- Mr. Mohr ..
- Mr. Parsons ..
- Mr. Rosen *RM*
- Mr. Tamm ..
- Mr. Nease ..
- Mr. Winterrowd.
- Tele. Room ..
- Mr. Holloman ..
- Miss Gandy ..

McGowan

A key figure in "Mississippians for States Rights" said Tuesday he is "alarmed" at the "clash of personalities" between Gov. J. P. Coleman and the MSR's interim chairman and spokesman, circuit judge M. M. McGowan, Jackson.

Brad Dye, Grenada attorney and chairman of the Grenada County Committee for States Rights, which he helped organize, said in Jackson that such a clash could overshadow the purposes of MSR, which is "neither for nor against anyone."

Dye said MSR is not an anti-Coleman movement, nor is it tied in in any way with the Mississippi Association of Citizens Councils, although he said a Council move to throw the next presidential election into Congress is "pretty much what we're driving at."

Dye was Grenada county manager for the Paul Johnson gubernatorial campaign last summer and said Tuesday he supported Johnson in all his campaigns and that Judge McGowan "did the same thing," but he added:

"Gov. Coleman has inserted this into the picture, but it should not be inserted, because supporters of all five gubernatorial candidates were represented when we held our first organizational meeting in Grenada about four months ago."

In fact, said Dye, the Grenada county organization, with about 150

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Must Fight For Our Convictions

(An Editorial)

Mississippi either believes in state rights or it doesn't. Mississippi either is against placing Negro children in white schools or it isn't.

Mississippi is opposed to social equality, miscegenation, mixed marriages and mongrelization or it isn't.

As this writer feels the pulse of our people, they are firm in their demand for state rights, and they unalterably oppose integration, social equality, miscegenation, mixed marriages and mongrelization.

This being true, why should we not speak out loud and clear on those subjects?

Why shouldn't we have the courage of our convictions and say what we think—say it clearly, explicitly and unreservedly in resolutions adopted by the Democratic party when it assembles in state convention in Jackson?

Why shouldn't we send a delegation to the Chicago convention with full power to express itself and tell other Democrats, real and alleged, who form that body, exactly what we are thinking and why?

There is no reason why we should do any soft pedalling about how we feel on these subjects.

The people of Mississippi are on record, in resolutions adopted by our legislature, as saying we are going to fight the Supreme Court decision on integration because we believe it is illegal, and it is the duty of our delegates to the Chicago convention to officially advise them to that effect.

If it then follows that neither the nominee or the platform are to our liking the delegates can come home and make their report to the people for such action that, in the opinion of the convention, may seem proper.

We must not send to Chicago a delegation of milksops, mollycoddles and political mendicants who will go there, with hats in hand, willing to kow-tow to the radicals, hoping they will do some soft-soaping in the selection of the nominee or the making of the platform to lull us into a sense of false security or seek to make us believe the integration will be put into effect in such a slow and gradual way we don't mind it a bit. It would not be any more senseless if they told us we are about to be murdered, but it won't hurt very much.

The writer happens to know that it is the plan of some Democratic leaders in other states to frame a plank in the platform so ambiguous, so replete in glittering generalities, so filled with ornate verbiage, that it apparently won't seem to mean very much but it will nevertheless be an endorsement of integration. Mississippi cannot accept verbal slop of that sort.

We know our cause is just and we should have the courage to stage a fight even if we know we will go down in defeat.

That's the Mississippi spirit. If it does not prevail in the state Democratic convention then our delegation to Chicago had better stay at home and save hotel bills and traveling expenses.

- Mr. Tolson
- Mr. Boardman
- Mr. Parsons
- Mr. Rosen
- Mr. Tamm
- Mr. Winterrowd
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- Mr. Holloman
- Miss Gandy

CITIZENS COUNCIL OF MISSISSIPPI

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Senate Votes Unanimously on Interposition Measure

Amendment Gets Lone Vote of Its Backer

By JAY HALL
(Times-Picayune Staff Correspondent)
BATON ROUGE, La., May 28—Louisiana Monday night joined five other Southern states in adopting an "interposition" resolution, protesting the United States supreme court's "Black Monday" decision.

The measure sailed through the Senate without an opposing vote after one senator's attempt to water down the language of the measure picked up not a single vote, besides his own, for the amendment.

Interposition rode into Louisiana law by a vote of 37-0 with the Senate action Monday night, the House having approved the concurrent resolution last week by a vote of 82-0.

Also approved in the Senate was a companion resolution which re-instated the joint legislative committee on segregation which has been headed by Sen. W. M. Rainach, Bienville-Clairborne district. This was passed last week in the House by a unanimous vote.

The motion to amend the interposition proposal came from Sen. J. D. DeBlieux, East Baton Rouge Rouge district.

DeBlieux said his reason for offering the amendment was to make it undisputably clear that any objection to the supreme court's order to desegregate schools and other decrees affecting public racial policy would be by completely lawful means, rather than on a basis of "disobedience or emotionalism."

DeBlieux dwelt at length on the necessity of honoring the Constitution.

Rainach rejoined that through the act of interposition "we are doing more to uphold the Constitution of the United States than the supreme court is doing." Rainach said the supreme court had usurped its power, taken on power not given it by the Constitution, by encroaching on the sovereignty of the states with its "Black Monday" decision of May 17, 1954.

Sen. A. O. Rappelet did not answer roll call. Sen. Jack Fruge abstained from voting on either of the segregation measures.

With passage of the resolution Louisiana joined Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, South Carolina and Virginia in their protest against the alleged "usurpation" of the federal supreme court.

The interposition measure called on other states to join in advocating a change in the federal constitution "to set at rest the usurpation herein complained of."

It also said, "The Legislature of Louisiana does hereby solemnly declare the decision of the US supreme court of May 17, 1954, the decision of the federal district court in New Orleans, and any similar decisions, that might be rendered in connection with the public school system, the public parks and recreation facilities... to be in violation of the Constitutions of the United States and of the State of Louisiana."

Sen. John J. Petre, Orleans district, said he does not believe the resolution "will suspend any supreme Court decision" but felt it would bring pressure to bear "for affirmation of the principle of states rights."

In introducing his ill-fated amendment, DeBlieux said the only thing that I'm complaining of is that we're telling the Supreme Court that we're not going to obey their decision. It doesn't appear to be good sense to me to say that we're not going to obey the Supreme Court.

"If we are going to launch an attack upon our judicial system, I believe we should at least amend it to say you're not going to flaunt the face of constitutional authority."

Rainach commented on the amendment, "This just takes the heart out of the resolution," and

then explained the resolution again in detail.

Rainach earlier had declared that "whenever segregation ends, turmoil begins. We will do our best to see that we have no turmoil in Louisiana."

He had also pointed out that since the organization of the joint legislative segregation committee in 1954, there has been no integration in any schools and "there has been no serious incident" concerning racial friction.

He cited history to prove that interposition can work.

"You will find," he said, "that every time the states have interposed their sovereignty, they have done it seriously and without triviality, the states have won every time."

"The laws that we pass, the things that we do here are delaying actions. Public opinion is stronger than any act of the courts. If we fight our battle peacefully, legally and forcefully, we'll win this battle."

"Already the tide is beginning to turn in the North."

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5 Segregation Acts OK'd by House Group

BATON ROUGE (AP) — The House education committee today unanimously okayed five proposals designed to strengthen Louisiana's segregation policy in schools, parks and travel waiting rooms.

The segregation package, a constitutional amendment and four legislative acts, now goes to the House floor for a vote Wednesday.

The action marked the second straight success for legislative segregation leaders.

Rep. John Garrett, a top sponsor, said he would seek a House floor vote Wednesday.

Unanimous Okay

House members last week unanimously approved and sent to the Senate an interposition resolution, part of the segregation package introduced in the new 1956 session.

The resolution is expected to receive prompt Senate attention when senators return at 7 p. m. tonight. It challenges the US supreme court ban on school segregation, contending the ruling is in violation of federal and state constitutions.

Senate approval would add Louisiana to the list of five Southern states which have acted on interposition.

Virginia, Alabama, South Carolina, Mississippi and Georgia already have approved interposition, protesting federal encroachment on state sovereignty.

Measures Listed

The five House measures approved by the education committee were:

A state constitutional amendment, which would attempt to block integration lawsuits by withdrawing state consent for suits against public agencies, such as the state parks commission, city and parish park commission, parish school boards, and the city school districts of Monroe, Lake Charles and Bogalusa.

House Bill 435—Placing public parks under the state's sovereign police powers, and stipulating "all public parks, recreation centers, playgrounds, community centers and other such facilities for swimming, dancing, golfing, skating . . . shall be operated separately for members of the white and colored races."

House Bill 436—Guaranteeing white waiting rooms at travel terminals, by requiring one room labeled "white waiting room, interstate passengers" for those traveling within the state's borders, and another "waiting room, interstate passengers and colored intrastate passengers," lumping together Negro passengers and any whites who don't insist on separate facilities.

House Bill 437—Tightening college and university requirements by requiring high school graduates to present certificates, from their school and parish superintendents, proving their eligibility and good moral character.

House Bill 438—Eliminating

compulsory school attendance at any school forced to integrate. Tells of Student.

Speaking before the education committee on House bill 437, W. M. Shaw, a segregation leader, told the group, as an example of what the act seeks to correct of an LSU Negro student a few weeks ago was arrested here on charges of soliciting for immoral purposes.

And on the waiting room question, Shaw said the bill would comply with federal regulations against segregation by providing for separate waiting facilities for interstate passengers which both Negroes and any whites who wanted could use. Whites could use separate facilities limited for white use only, if they preferred.

Discussing House bill 438, eliminating compulsory attendance, Rep. Monnie Cheves said he thought such provision might "return us to the old days" when some parents had to be forced to send their children to school.

But Rep. Ford Stinson interrupted, remarking: "If any school is ordered to integrate where I send my children, I just don't want them to go there and I don't want to have to violate the law."

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- Mr. Boardman _____
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M. E. Howard

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Miss Ford

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LA. HOUSE VOTES INTERPOSITION

Also Acts to Keep Segregation Committee

Legislative Digest on Page 8.

By B. L. KREBS

(Times-Picayune Staff Correspondent)
BATON ROUGE, La., May 24

Two concurrent resolutions dealing with the maintenance of racial segregation in Louisiana passed the House of Representatives Thursday without a single opposing vote, and were sent to the Senate where they were placed on the calendar and will be ready for adoption when the Senate reconvenes Monday night.

First resolution up for adoption in the House provides for the continuance of the joint legislative segregation committee, created at the 1954 session of the Legislature. After brief talks by Rep. Ford E. Stinson, Bossier, a member of the joint committee, and Rep. George D. Tessier, Orleans, it was passed by a vote of 88 to 0.

A few minutes later, the House voted 82 to 0 in favor of a resolution of interposition, which charges the US Supreme court with "usurpation," terms its May, 1954, decision against segregation as an illegal attempt to amend the Constitution instead of interpret it, and calls on other states to join with Louisiana in clearing the way for a constitutional amendment "designed to set at rest the usurpation herein complained of."

Stinson, Tessier Talk

In speaking for the joint committee's continuance, Stinson referred the members of the House to a report made earlier in the week by the joint committee, with copies laid on the desk of each member; which he said would show that the work of the committee has been beneficial and helpful in maintaining segregation.

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"We still have segregation in Louisiana after two years," said Stinson, "and we feel that we can continue it, and preserve the way of life we have been following in past years."

Then Tessier took the floor: "I want to commend the committee," he said "on the temperate approach it has made to the problem."

"I was not necessarily in favor of creation of the committee originally, because I feared that it might be dominated by extremists. But now I favor its continuance as long as it follows a policy of being moderate and reasonable in its activities."

Garrett Speaks

Rep. John S. Garrett, Claiborne, House leader of the segregation forces, spoke for the adoption of the "interposition" resolution, introduced Wednesday.

Rep. E. W. Gravolet Jr., Plaquemines, also spoke for the resolution, which won unanimous adoption by the House.

Six House members, however, who had voted a few minutes previously to continue the segregation committee, failed to vote for the interposition resolution.

The House then referred five additional segregation measures to the committee on public education, headed by Rep. Carroll L. DuPont, Terrebonne; one of the sponsors of the segregation bills, with Stinson as vice-chairman.

Another measure proposing \$15,000 for expenses of the committee was sent to the appropriations committee. Similar amounts were made available for the work of the committee in 1954 and 1955.

Referred to Committee

The measures referred to the education committee include a joint resolution providing for a constitutional amendment, which unlike a concurrent resolution must be considered by committee.

Continued on Page 3, Column 2

Continued from Page 1

tee and four proposed legislative acts.

The constitutional amendment would withdraw the consent of the state to the filing of suits against school boards, parks and recreation commissions and other agencies handling facilities now used by the races separately, and the legislative acts seek to prohibit mingling of the races in intrastate travel and in recreational activities, set up entrance requirements for the colleges and universities; and sus-

pend the compulsory school attendance law in any district where segregation has been ordered by court decree, "or other authority."

When the machine was opened for roll-call on the "interposition" resolution, considered the keystone of the segregation measures, 19 of the 101 House members were either absent from the House chamber or failed to vote.

19 Didn't Vote

The 19 members recorded on the machine as "not-voting"—which includes both categories—were:

New Orleans Area—Jefferson, James J. Beeson; Orleans, Samuel F. Albro, Frank J. Altmyer, Kenneth C. Barranger, W. P. Clark, Vernon Gregson, Patrick B. McGittigan, L. T. Vivien Jr. Total, eight not voting.

Other Parishes—Avoyelles, Alton R. Denux; Caddo, Algie D. Brown, Wellhorn Jack; Cameron, Alvin Dyson; Concordia, S. P. Crane; DeSoto, Marvin Roberts; Iberville, Samuel C. Cashio; Lafayette, Allen M. Babineaux; St. Landry, Sidney Sylvester; St. Mary, E. J. Grizzaffi; Tensas, J. C. Seaman. Total: 11 not voting.

Aside from its action on the segregation bills the House, before adjourning to Sunday night at 8 p. m., passed its first bill, the \$875,000 appropriation to pay the legislators' salaries and other expenses of the session; unanimously approved a Senate concurrent resolution creating a seven-member legislative committee to investigate the affairs of the division of employment security.

In moving the adoption of the interposition resolution, Rep. Garrett said that the new members of the House, he felt assured, were anxiously awaiting an opportunity to let the people of Louisiana and the United States, and the US supreme court know how they feel about the supreme court decision of 1954 outlawing segregation.

Colonies Form Compact

"When the 13 colonies came out of their fight for independence from England," Garrett continued, "they rocked along for a while as individual states, but finding that a separate organization was needed to co-ordinate certain activities, they set up a compact among themselves which became the US Constitution."

"They delegated certain power to the federal government such as the coining of money, operation of the postal system, and

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national defense, but emphatically declared that all powers not

specifically conferred on the federal government were reserved to the several states."

Soon after this, Garrett asserted, the alien and sedition laws were passed, one which sought to prohibit individuals from "printing, writing or speaking" against the federal government or its officials. Because this right was not one that had been delegated to the federal government, he said, Jefferson, Madison and others began to explore the theory of interposition.

Va., Ky. Were First

"In 1798," Garrett continued, "Madison wrote the first resolution of interposition, in which the authority of the state of Virginia was interposed between the people of that state and the federal government sedition laws. While acting as vice-president, Jeffer-

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son wrote a resolution for the state of Kentucky. Throughout its history interposition has been exercised, and in every case the sovereign states have finally won out, either by amendment of the Constitution or otherwise."

The US supreme court in May, 1954, Garrett charged, did what it could not get the Congress to do, and in utter disregard of all past jurisprudence.

"It could not have been intended," he declared, "that these nine men be permitted to exercise the sole authority to take from the states their reserved powers and grant them to the federal government.

'Sovereignty Unquestionable'

"This right rests solely with the people of the several states, and has remained unchanged since the adoption of the Constitution in 1787. Even though the states, in some instances, have carelessly permitted it to slip from their hands through careless acquiescence in the supreme court's encroaching constructions of the Constitution, the right clearly remains in the states to reassert the sovereignty that unquestionably is theirs."

Pointing out that Louisiana is the sixth state to adopt an interposition resolution, Garrett said it is the hope of the segregation forces that the doctrine of state interposition will be taken up not only by the South, but in other regions.

While the South happens to be affected by the present situation, he commented, there is no reason for other sections of the country to expect that they will eventually escape from "the brutal force of judicial encroachments that have made progress in the past 20 years.

"The alternative to interposition as I see it," Garrett declared, "is a continuing surrender to judicial legislation, a continuing spineless submission to the usurpation of the reserved powers of the states.

"The people of Louisiana, the people of every state are not compelled to lie down like sheep to be sheared by any court. We not only have the right but we are duty-bound to interpose against this evil. This call to duty, echoing from the great generations of the past, should not pass unheeded today."

BATON ROUGE, May 24 (AP) — Here's how House members voted in an 82 to 0 roll call approving a resolution interposing the state's sovereign power between the United States supreme court's integration decision.

For interposition 82:
 Speaker Wimberly, Bienville; Adams, Vernon; Alford, St. Helena; Allen, Jackson; Angelle, St. Martin; Aycock, St. Mary; Beanel, St. John; Bellise, Sabine; Bernard, West Baton Rouge; Bertrand, Lafayette; Bossetta, Orleans; Brennan, Orleans; Brignac, Livingston; Broussard, Orleans; J. M. Brown, Orleans; Campagna, St. Bernard; Cefalu, Tangipahoa; Chachere, Franklin; Cheves, Natchitoches; F. Clark, Vermilion; Collier, Winn; Dakre, Iberia; Delony, East Carroll; Desnoiel, St. Landry; Diesl, St. Landry; C. H. Donaldson, Orleans; H. E. Donaldson, Allen; Downes, Richland; Dugas, Lafourche; Dupony, Terrebonne; Faulk, Ouachita; Fields, Union; Fontenot, Evangeline; Fremaux, Acadia; Fulco, Caddo; Gaharan, LaSalle; Garrett, Claiborne; Gaudin, East Baton Rouge; Gibbs, Ouachita; Gleason, Webster; Goux, Lafourche; Gravolet, Plaquemines; Hankins, Orleans; Haynes, Natchitoches; Holt, Rapides; Jewell, Pointe Coupee; Jones, Calcasieu; Kirkpatrick, Jefferson; Davis, Lancaster; Madison, Labarre, Orleans; Leake, West Feliciana; LeBreton, Orleans; Lehmann, St. Charles; Lewis, Beauregard; Martin, Assumption; Matassa, Orleans; McEain, St. Tammany; Munson, Rapides; Murtes, Orleans; Myrick, West Carroll; Napper, Lincoln; Nelson, Tangipahoa; Peck, Catahoula; Percy, East Feliciana; Rambo, Grant; Rau, Jefferson; Regan, Acadia; Roussell, St. James; Sanders, East Baton Rouge; Shows, Washington; Smith, Avoyelles; Smith, Caddo; Steen, Caldwell; Simpson, Bossier; Sullivan, Orleans; Teitel, Rapides; Tessier, Orleans; Triche, Assumption; Tyndall, Calcasieu; Vesich, Orleans; Vetter, Red River; Wilson, Morehouse.

Absent or not voting 19:
 Albro, Orleans; Altmyer, Orleans; Babineaux, Lafayette; Barranger, Orleans; Beeson, Jefferson; A. D. Brown, Caddo; Cashio, Iberville; W. P. Clark, Orleans; Crane, Concordia; DeNux, Avoyelles; Dyson, Cameron; Gregson, Orleans; Grazzani, St. Mary; Jack, Caddo; McGittigan, Orleans; Roberts, DeSoto; Seaman, Tensas; Sylvester, St. Landry; Vivien, Orleans.

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Highlight of Textile Union Convention Debate

An Agonizing Segregation Appraisal

By JOHN HERLING

Are the poor white men and the poor Negro being played against each other.

That's the question confronting the labor movement.

This past week, the Textile Workers Union had to make an agonizing appraisal of its own position on segregation in one of the most dramatic convention debates in labor history.

Beset by the migration of the textile industry from New England to the South, the union for years has had to face the difficult problem of organization in hostile areas and in an unfriendly political climate.

ROLE

In the South, the Taft-Hartley's restrictions have played an especially key role in blocking the development of unions. Taft-Hartley gave the green light to state "right to work" laws which are described by union advocates as booby-traps in the path of unionism. All this made the road rough but not impossible.

Now, the whole question of Negro and white segregation has exploded into the face of the Southern labor community.

Altho the originating cause of this latest flare-up of ill-will began with the Supreme Court's decisions that segregation was no bigger than the color of a school-child's hand, the rash of resentment in some areas of the South was quickly institutionalized in the form of White Citizens' Councils.

Almost from the start, the White Citizens' Councils included unions in their orbit of attack, singling out first, individual-union leaders and then the entire AFL-CIO leadership as major targets.

They have launched an assault on the Textile Workers whose representatives worked away at their job of organizing, slowly adding to their numbers, bringing in Negro workers along with the whites and developing bargaining sessions.

What the Textile leaders had to decide in convention, is whether they were to meet the attack of the White Councils head-on by denouncing them, charging them with anti-unionism as well as racism, and thus risk the possibility that many of their new and old members in Southern communities might have to choose between deeply-rooted prejudices and the newer union philosophy.

In a convention resolution, President Eisenhower is called upon to call a conference of Southern governors and provide moral leadership for a peaceful and orderly transition to an unsegregated public school system. In addition, the White Citizen Councils are denounced as enemies of law and order, and members of labor unions are urged to "scorn" such groups.

With a couple of exceptions, all Southern union representatives urged the withdrawal of the resolution on the ground that the organizing drive in the South would be overwhelmed by its repercussions.

"First we have got to organize," said Charles E. Auslander of Spray, North Carolina. "How can you organize if every time you go to a mill, the employer, the press, and the demagogues play upon the emotions of the workers in those mills. The White Councils are demagogues of the worst sort. But, please, withdraw the resolution. For the sake of our union don't make our job any harder in the South."

DELEGATE

Then, delegate M. L. Wood of Columbia, South Carolina, business agent for a local with more than 1000 textile workers, said:

"I have lived in South Carolina all my life. I know the problems. I am going to appeal to your emotions, because from the bottom of my heart, I know what this will do to my union, our union, in the South.

"The membership of my union—about 70 per cent of them—are members of the White Citizens' Council. I have been attending textile conventions for the past 10

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years. I have seen this trade union of ours grow in strength. I hope it will grow and grow. I say we are meddling in something we shouldn't meddle in when we start passing resolutions of this sort.

"That is my honest opinion. We should stay out of this sort of thing and work for the workers, wages, hours, and benefits."

CLEAR

Finally, the unions' three top officers, led by chairman Emil Rieve, made it clear that the Textile Union was not going to "rise above principle."

"My friends, this is a terrific question," Mr. Rieve said. "I am mindful of the fact that our union may suffer if the resolution is adopted. I am also not unmindful of what is facing the labor movement as a whole. But we have to live up to our responsibilities. Fear of saving our union, fear of saving the labor movement in the South, is not good enough argument for me to dodge this issue."

"Our organizers get up and say that the problems of organizing the workers in the South will be harder. I agree with them. But even before the Supreme Court's decision, our organizing road was hard. We do not now have the South organized."

"But," said Mr. Rieve, "the issue transcends the South, transcends even our own country. We are today facing an age where two philosophies of life are fighting for the hearts and minds of men in this country and everywhere thru the world. We cannot say to the Indian, the Chinese, the Asian and African peoples: 'Come, join us. Find out that democracy is better than what communism can promise you,' and then, face the communist jeering at us: 'Sure, join their democracy forces. Maybe you will get what the colored people in the United States are getting.'"

The convention applauded stormily. The resolution was passed by at least two to one. But many a delegate left Washington deeply con-

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CITIZENS COUNCILS + STATES RIGHTS MOVEMENTS

(COUNCILS)

BIRMINGHAM, ALA.--ASA (ACE) CARTER, FIERY ALABAMA CITIZENS COUNCIL LEADER, REPORTED FORMATION OF STATE COUNCILS IN MICHIGAN AND GEORGIA. HE SAID THEY WOULD BE DIRECTED FROM HIS "NATIONAL" OFFICE HERE. CARTER SAID HIS OFFICE HERE IS NOW A "NATIONAL COUNCIL OFFICE" KNOWN AS THE "ALABAMA NATIONAL CITIZENS COUNCIL." HE SAID COUNCILS IN THE THREE STATES WOULD WORK TOGETHER UNDER THE NEW ORGANIZATION. THE WHITE SUPREMACIST, TERMED A "FASCIST" BY RIVAL COUNCIL MEMBERS IN ALABAMA, SAID HE FORMED THE MICHIGAN ORGANIZATION EARLY THIS MONTH. ITS ADDRESS, HE SAID, IS POST OFFICE BOX 148, DEARBORN. HE ADDED IT IS THE FIRST TIME THE COUNCIL MOVEMENT HAS PENETRATED THE NORTH. THE GEORGIA COUNCIL, CARTER SAID, WILL HAVE ITS HEADQUARTERS IN ATLANTA. HE SAID ANNOUNCEMENT WILL BE MADE SOON OF THE GROUP'S FIRST PUBLIC RALLY.

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Miss. Prpfessor Addresses Council Meet At Ferriday

FERRIDAY, May 22 (Special)—
Dr. W. M. McCaskey, of Mississippi
College, Clinton, Miss., made
the principal address at a Citizens
Council meeting which was held
Friday night at the Ferriday Ele-
mentary gymnasium. W. E. Per-
son, president, introduced the speak-
er and presided.

Dr. McCaskey is a professor of
political science at Mississippi col-
lege and has written several books
on the Reconstruction period in the
south and other phases of the racial
situation in this area. He spoke of
his experience as an active organ-
izer of Citizens Councils in Mis-
sissippi and his talk proved to be
very informative. The meeting was
well attended by members and a
number of guests of the council.

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Hinds County States Righters Are Organizing

Organization of a Hinds County Committee of the Mississippians for States Rights was underway here Monday with an estimated 60 persons having signed up for the movement.

Temporary co-chairman Russell Moore and Sterling Tighe said some 60 Hinds Countians have agreed to join the organization which is working for a large turn out from here at the state meeting May 30 at 2 p. m. at the Edwards hotel.

Moore said purpose of the organization is to watch carefully developments in the Democratic Party so that should it adopt a platform considered anti-States Rights the group could sponsor an unpledged slate of electors on the Nov. 2 ballot in an attempt to throw the vote into the House of Representatives.

"For the time being," Moore said, "we'll be a stand-by organization to wait and watch the Democrats."

He said the organization plans to fight against Democrats and that a presidential candidate would not be nominated. Main purpose, he said, is to make sure Mississippi's delegation at the national convention "will protect our interests."

Moore said Mississippi States Righters have been encouraged to learn that similar groups are being organized within the Democratic party in the Mid-West and other areas of the country.

"It's the first time," Moore said, "that groups outside the South have indicated an interest and understanding of our movement."

Mr. Moore
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INTERPOSITION MOVE PLANNED

Seven-Point Segregation Program Revealed

By JAMES McLEAN.
BATON ROUGE, May 19 (AP) — Legislative leaders said Saturday they will introduce a seven-point segregation program next week which would make Louisiana the sixth Southern state to defy the United States supreme court with interposition.

Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, South Carolina and Virginia have passed interposition resolutions which declare they consider the court ban on school segregation to be invalid.

Racial feelings run at mild temperatures in Louisiana, although New Orleans police sought a Klan link to a blazing cross found two days ago on grounds of Catholic Archbishop Joseph Francis Rummel.

Integration Studied
The church official months ago named a committee to study the possibility of integration in church schools after next September.

A federal court a few weeks ago ordered New Orleans public schools to comply with the supreme court decree — but set no time limit.

For weeks, the joint legislative committee on segregation has been drafting a new pattern of laws to bulwark Louisiana's official stand against mixed races in public classrooms.

Sen. W. M. Rainach, the mild-voiced but tough-minded North Louisianian who heads the group, made public the new segregation package after a conference with Gov. Earl K. Long.

'Governor Agrees'
"The governor has agreed to cooperate with us in our program to maintain segregation," the Summerfield senator said.

While the new governor has warned lawmakers to use "reasonableness and caution," he told Rainach he subscribes to a firm segregation policy.

Interposition is the most powerful weapon at hand to wield against federal commands for integration, Rainach asserted.

States using interposition have protested against federal encroachment on their sovereignty. In effect, the state interposes its sovereignty between the supreme court and its people.

The South's determination to keep segregated schools reached a peak March 11 when 19 US senators and 77 representatives pledged to exercise every "lawful means" to reverse the supreme court.

Continued on Page 12, Column 2

Interposition Aims:
"Interposition will throw the searchlight of public opinion on the integration issue," Rainach said.

Rainach and his 10-man committee were responsible for the recent lawsuit in which a state court stopped activities of the National Association for Advancement of Colored People in Louisiana. The segregationists dug up an old 1924 law which had wiped out the Klan and used it against the NAACP.

A behind-the-scenes role also was played by the Rainach group when another state court earlier slapped down NAACP efforts to block use of \$100,000 in taxpayers funds to fight school integration moves.

Long to Speak
The 1956 Legislature returns Monday night at 7:30 for its second week and will hear an address by Gov. Long. The governor so far has not mentioned the segregation issue in official talks.

To meet the changing situation brought about by federal court decrees, Rainach and his committee will introduce in the new Legislature:

1. The interposition resolution, which declares the May 17, 1954, supreme court decision on school segregation to be in violation of federal and Louisiana constitutions.

2. A legislative resolution continuing the work of the joint legislative committee on segregation, chief foe of the NAACP in this state.

3. A constitutional amendment withdrawing consent of the state to any lawsuits, except for contract questions, against city, parish or state public park and recreation agencies. Sponsors said this would have the effect of blocking integration lawsuits.

4. A legislative act tightening college and university entrance rules by calling for a certificate from lower school officials attesting to the applicant's eligibility and good moral character.

This would stiffen colleges against undesirable applicants, whether white or Negro.

White Waiting Rooms
5. An act guaranteeing white waiting rooms at air, rail and bus terminals, by stipulating white passengers traveling within the state must have a separate room even though another will be available for Negroes and any interstate passengers.

6. An act placing city, parish and state parks under the sovereign police power of the state, a segregation step.

7. An act eliminating compulsory school attendance wherever integration occurs, thus allowing white pupils to ignore the attendance law while awaiting new steps to bring back segregated schoolrooms.

Sen. Rainach said Gov. Long has agreed that the segregation committee should continue to operate.

The interposition resolution it sponsors charges the supreme court with usurpation of rights reserved for the states and the people.

Enlists Other States
It calls on sister states to join in taking appropriate steps, pursuant to Article V of the US Constitution, by which an amendment designed to set at rest the usurpation herein complained of may be proposed to all the states.

The document says until "the usurpation here complained of" is settled by a federal constitutional change, "The Legislature of Louisiana does hereby solemnly declare the decision of the US supreme court of May 17, 1954, the decision of the federal district court in New Orleans, and any similar decisions that might be rendered in connection with the public school system, public parks and recreational facilities . . . To be in violation of the Constitution of the United States and of the state of Louisiana.

"We declare, further, our firm intention to take all appropriate measures honorably and constitutionally available to us, to void

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this illegal encroachment upon the rights of the several states.

The Rainach committee in 1954 won legislative and public approval for a three-way segregation package designed to bypass the supreme court on the school issue.

But these laws were the target of the NAACP when the New Orleans federal court ruled them unconstitutional. Louisiana has appealed.

And while an appeal is pending, the state under Rainach's guidance, is bringing up its new ammunition in a battle that the senator contends will last 20 years.

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O'Dom Chairman Of Council

Henry W. O'Dom, commander of the American Legion, Friday night was announced as the first permanent chairman of Citizens Council in Meridian.

R. W. (Bob) Frazier was named vice chairman and J. B. Collier secretary. Charter for the local council has been approved and a membership drive will start shortly, said a Saturday announcement.

A number of prominent speakers, it was added, will visit Meridian soon and address council members.

100 copies of Citizens Councils of Mississippi - ME [unclear]

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Eastland Grandstands in a Miss

By ADAM LAPIN

(Third in a Series)

There wasn't too much excitement in the ball park at Forest, Mass., as Sen. James O. Eastland plowed ponderously through a prepared speech explaining that the Communists are "behind the campaign to integrate our schools and destroy our way of life."

There was little reaction from the shirt-sleeved crowd of about 3,000 filling the stands as he added in the manner of an earnest but uninspired McCarthy:

"I hold here in my hand a document from the New York state office of the Communist Party which explains it all."

But about a third of the crowd gathered on a cool Friday night

from the little town and the surrounding hill country to hear their Senator speak to a White Citizens Council rally, started applauding as he looked up from his text and said:

"Many troubled parents in Washington have come to me to tell me about what goes on in the integrated schools there. They have told me how nigger boys make indecent proposals to innocent little white girls."

POUR IT ON

Shouts of "pour it on" break out here and there from the grandstand.

"Some of the boys have been searched. There were not only knives in their pockets but something else, too."

There are snickers from the crowd, more shouts of "pour it

on" and some applause. Eastland pauses a minute, don't think it is proper for me to say more. After all, I am a United States Senator.

We had driven into Jackson earlier in the day to cover a conference of the Regional Council of Negro Leadership headed by Dr. T. R. M. Howard and to talk to Negro leaders.

INVITATION TO VIOLENCE

The atmosphere in Jackson has been tense. Negroes in the streets clammed up when we asked them how to get to the Masonic Temple where the conference was being held.

Gov. J. P. Coleman, who confesses to be somewhat aloof from the Citizens Councils and a more moderate than Eastland, heated up the situation with

2. Holds that the American people "will find their own path to..."

SOVIETS OFFER PAN-AM
WASHINGTON, May 21.—The State Department disclosed it is willing to let Pan American Union, the State Department disclosed.

Egyptian Rail Workers Stage One-Hour Strike

CAIRO, May 21.—Almost 13,000 Egyptian railway workers staged a one-hour strike yesterday in protest against low wages and lack of bonuses.

The strikers formerly worked for the British in the Suez Canal Zone. They quit their camps there when the Anglo-Egyptian agreement of 1936 was abrogated. Authorities arrested 24 strikers in a community.

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man of 30 who is NAACP field representative for Mississippi, told of the continuing atmosphere of violence in the plantation area around Money where Emmett Till had been murdered.

"I go through as quickly as possible and don't stay long," he said. "It isn't healthy."

Evers said the NAACP is growing in Mississippi, and is by far the leading Negro organization in the state. But he and other Negro leaders conceded freely that the ever-present threat of violence has hampered the growth of NAACP, that the Negro people in Mississippi have a way to go under adverse circumstances to reach the heights of unity and organization symbolized by Montgomery.

Then Evers suggested that we ought to hurry over to the Citizens Council meeting and hear Eastland if we wanted to get a rounded picture of the Mississippi situation.

A RACIST RALLY

So we drove fast the 50 miles to Forest into the rolling hills and back country of Mississippi, getting there late while Eastland was already making the main address of the evening.

On the flag-bedecked platform in the center of the ball field were local dignitaries and other speakers, all formally dressed. Some in the crowd seemed to be business people. But most appeared to be small farmers, workers, townspeople.

There was a hard core of zealots in the grandstand. But many apparently came out of curiosity to hear their Senator, a local boy made good. Some people took the whole family, as if to a drive-in movie. We stood on the sidelines, leaning on a car. Restless little boys inside kept opening and closing the doors. We didn't applaud. Neither did most of the people around us.

Eastland had grown up in Forest, gone to school there. His planter-father practiced law in the town. But later Eastland moved back to the 5,000-acre family plantation, about 100 miles from Forest where he still lives when he is not in Washington.

The people around Forest are mainly the "rednecks," the poor whites of the area. Traditionally they have hated the planters. And you could feel Eastland straining to find a common denominator, an effective appeal.

He tried hard to give the white supremacist cause a democratic flavor. "It is the people whose will is supreme," he shouts. "No court decision can be enforced if the people are against it."

But Eastland strikes pay dirt, and then only with a minority of the crowd, when he hits the "mongrelization" or inter-marriage theme which permeates all Citizens Council propaganda.

But then he draws back a bit, cautions: "We are against violence. Violence can only hurt our cause."

But you can sense his problem. While he wants to stir up the Mississippi backwoods, he must maintain a position of respectability nationally, and he also fears to alienate more liberal-minded Southerners.

Eastland needs to play crudely on sex fears, on the old ingrown prejudices of the most backward and ignorant of the small farmers and townspeople. He also needs the atmosphere of violence and intimidation which has wracked Mississippi and of which we got a tiny whiff in Jackson.

BATTLE FOR MINDS

He urges a national propaganda offensive to win the North and West to the segregationist banner.

"We are in a battle for the minds of men," he says. "We must take our cause to the nation."

While Eastland is speaking, vendors are selling copies of "Black Monday," a \$1 pamphlet published by the Mississippi Association of Citizens Councils and written by Judge Tom P. Brady, Brookhaven, Miss.

The title refers to the Monday on which the Supreme Court decreed the end of school segregation. The subtitle is "Segregation or Amalgamation... America Has Its Choice."

A RACIST TRACT

Brady spoke at the Forest meeting before we got there. But his little book gives a fair sampling of the ideas with which Eastland proposes to fight for the minds of men. Brady, a Yale graduate, incidentally, writes:

"Very few Negroes have true respect and reverence for their race. They sense their racial limitations... These Northern Negroes are determined to mongrelize America. They want the race to pass."

"The mental inferiority of the negro to the white is an established fact."

"Constantly the Negro will be endeavoring to usurp every right and privilege which will lead to intermarriage. This is the way it has worked out in the North. This is the way the NAACP wants it to work out in the South, and that is what Russia wants."

Eastland echoes this line, and yet apparently recognizes its limitations in winning converts in the North or even holding the allegiance of the younger generation of the white South.

"The first line of defense is the home," he says. "If we lose the minds of our children, all is lost. Then there is no hope for the future."

Urging the states to appropriate funds from their treasuries for the white supremacy campaign, he says:

"We must use public funds and we have a legal right to do so because in essence this is an attack upon the South... We must bring to the attention of the people what integration will do to our school system."

Eastland appeals to the Southern states, urges all the governors to band together for a last-ditch fight.

"If we band together, we can win," he says.

But he bitterly attacks "weak-kneed political leaders" in the border states for gradually bowing to the Constitution and the Supreme Court.

Eastland concludes with a call to action. The crowd applauds politely but briefly, and starts slowly drifting out of the lighted ball park.

Eastland still reigns in Mississippi, heartland of the plantation system, of the White Citizens Council, of illiteracy, poverty and bigotry.

But the white supremacist crown sits uneasily on his head as he sees the pressures of the border states, of the North and of the Negro people themselves closing in on the deep South.

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Potofsky Scores White Councils

By Bernard D. Nossiter
Staff Reporter

Jacob Potofsky, president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, urged organized labor to educate its members against White Citizens Councils as his union opened its biennial convention here today.

In a pre-convention press conference, Potofsky said he was disturbed that union members have joined the Councils.

He termed them, "Really, the Ku Klux Klan."

Anti-segregation stands of many unions have led to threats of revolt by Southern locals, but Potofsky said he didn't expect trouble within his own 400,000-member organization. About 10 per cent of ACW's membership is in the Deep South and the union has a long history of integrated locals, he said.

Political Action Stressed

The union is holding its convention in Washington for the first time in its 43-year history. Political action, Potofsky said, "will be high on the agenda."

Sidestepping an outright election choice, Potofsky praised the three leading Democratic candidates for the presidential nomination. He said Adlai Stevenson, Gov. Averell Harriman and Sen. Estes Kefauver (D-Tenn.) were "all high-class liberals, good, substantial liberals."

The Amalgamated will concentrate on raising voluntary \$1 contributions for the AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education, Potofsky said, and would consider donations from 20 to 25 per cent as a "fair response."

Will Hear Report

The 2000 delegates to the five-day gathering at the Sheraton-Park Hotel will today receive a report from the union's General Executive Board that notes:

• Amalgamated's health and life insurance program has paid out \$65 million in benefits from its birth in 1944 through last year. Another \$41 million in pensions has been disbursed. Behind both funds are a \$122-million-dollar reserve.

• The union has opened two more medical centers in New York and Chicago since its 1954 convention, bringing to four the number operated by the Amalgamated. They care for more than 100,000 members and their dependents.

• ACW has added 19,000 new members and organized 300 previously non-union shops in the past two years. The Board said its toughest organizing problem continues to be in the South and West, the chief areas for "runaway shops" seeking "to escape paying for union wages and working conditions."

2000 More in Prospect

Potofsky told reporters ACW has 98 per cent of the men's clothing industry sewed up. He hopes to announce an additional 2000 workers from a Pennsylvania and Delaware company are in the fold before the convention ends Friday.

Biggest organizing target, he said, is the 75,000 non-union cotton garment workers.

He also worried about competition from Japanese shirts, but said import quotas and higher tariffs won't solve this problem.

The courtly, spade-bearded union head avoided being directly drawn into the dispute between AFL-CIO President George Meany and Vice President Walter Reuther over India. However, he described Indian Prime Minister Nehru as "democratic minded" and said Indian leaders who had visited Communist China returned with strengthened anti-Communist arguments.

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BAUMGARDNER

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SECRET SEGREGATION AGENTS

Mississippi's State Sovereignty Commission, set up by this year's general assembly to combat integration, has decided to employ "private eyes" to spy on the activities of integrationists. Its spokesmen justify the plan by comparing it to the under-cover work of FBI agents.

We receive the news with misgivings and regret. Secret police suggests the systems of Hitler and Stalin. The idea of the stool pigeon does not carry a clean bill of wholesomeness in this country.

It would seem that under ordinary conditions the activities of the integrationists could be met when they come into the open, as they would probably have to do to be effective, without recourse to secret spying, wire-tapping and similar under-cover measures.

The State
Columbia, S. C.
5-17-56
S. L. Latimer, Jr.
Editor

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Mississippi Segregation Board Will Hire 'Spies'

JACKSON, Miss., May 16 (AP).—Mississippi's State Sovereignty Commission, watchdog of the State's rights, has voted to hire secret agents to serve as "eyes and ears" in the fight to keep segregation. Along the same lines, the 12-member commission voted yesterday to spend State money to "buy information" about activities in the integration camp.

In another move, the commission hired a full-time publicity director to explain to integrationists Mississippi's position concerning segregation.

The action was part of what Gov. J. P. Coleman, commission chairman, labeled an attempt "to bring this commission into its full effect and fruition."

The commission was set up by the 1956 Legislature to prevent Federal "encroachment" on States' rights with the segregation question as the main objective.

In debating the issue of hiring undercover agents, the Sovereignty Commission agreed on secrecy because, among other reasons "it's possible we may want to hire a Negro to spy on Negro activities within Mississippi."

Gov. Coleman called attention to the FBI's use of informants and said the SSC would operate in the same manner. He called the investigators and informants known but to the commission.

"an official arm of State government."

The Governor cautioned the commission not to panic. "I see no reason for alarm, frustration or futility," he said. "We have the ball and it's up to the opposition to take the initiative."

"After all, integration came about because the people gave up. We will not give up."

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SEGREGATION UNIT VOTES SPY SET-UP

Mississippi Will Hire Secret Agents to Report Moves in Integration Camp

JACKSON, Miss., May 15 (AP)—Mississippi's State Sovereignty Commission, "watchdog" of states' rights, voted today to hire secret agents to serve as "eyes and ears" in the fight to keep segregation.

The twelve-member commission voted also to spend state money to "buy" information about activities in the integration camp.

In another move, the commission hired a full-time publicity director to explain to integrationists Mississippi's position concerning segregation.

The action was part of what Gov. J. P. Coleman, commission chairman, called an attempt "to bring" this commission into its full effect and fruition.

The commission was set up by the 1956 Legislature to prevent Federal "encroachment" upon states' rights, with the segregation question as the main objective.

In debating the issue of hiring undercover agents, the Sovereignty Commission agreed upon secrecy because, among other reasons, "it's possible we may want to hire a Negro" to spy upon Negro activities within Mississippi.

Mr. Coleman called attention to the use of informants by the Federal Bureau of Investigation and said the commission would operate in the same manner. He called the investigators and informants known but to the commission, "an official arm of state government."

The Governor cautioned the commission against panic.

"I see no reason for alarm, frustration or futility," he said. "We have the ball and it's up to the opposition to take the initiative."

"After all, integration came about because the people gave up. We will not give up."

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*BAUMER
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N. Y. N.Y. TIMES

DATED MAY 16 1956
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BAUNGARDNER

Mississippi May Plant Paid Spy on Bias Foes

Special to the New York Post
 Jackson, Miss., May 16—Gov. Coleman said today his state may try to hire a Negro as a spy to check on the activities of anti-segregationists in Mississippi.

He said such a spy would be hired through the Sovereignty Commission, which he said was set up to protect the state's segregation laws.

Coleman defended the idea by saying the commission activities would be modeled on the undercover system of the FBI.

"It's possible," he said, "we may want to hire a Negro."

The commission, established recently by the Legislature to prevent federal "encroachment" on states' rights, voted to spend state funds for the undercover agents and to "buy information" on integration sympathizers.

A full-time publicity director was hired by the 12-man commission with the express purpose of explaining Mississippi's attitude on segregation.

"We have the ball," Coleman said, "and it's up to the opposition to take the initiative."

"I see no reason for alarm, frustration or futility. After all, integration came about because the people gave up. We will not give up."

Coleman referred to the commission as "an official arm of state government."

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 N. Y. N.Y. POST
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White Citizens Council Moves North

By WILLIAM ALLAN

DEARBORN — The White Citizens Councils, whom Emil Mazey, UAW Int'l Secretary-Treasurer calls the 1956 version of the Ku Klux Klan, are trying to organize chapters here and in Detroit. Here in Dearborn, Mayor Orville Hubbard says he is for seg-

regation, and no Negroes are allowed to live here—"if the NAACP came to see him, he'd kick them out." Hubbard was interviewed some weeks ago by the racist, Dixiecrat sheet, the Montgomery Advertiser from Alabama, and spewed his race hatred all over their front page.

Hubbard has admitted to newsmen that he was invited to a White Citizens Council meeting, Tuesday April 24, in Highland Park but was unable to attend.

Hubbard revealed that he has

letters, from people telling him that White Citizens Councils are being organized in Detroit, Lansing, Flint as well as Highland Park. Hubbard denied that any WCC's are being organized in Dearborn.

With a white supremacist viciousness he is noted for, he cracked, "we don't need one here, Citizens Councils are for places where they have problems."

A DEARBORN sheet, called the Independent, was solicited to place

an advertisement appealing for new members for the White Citizens Councils. The envelope contained a membership card, check, and said that dues are \$3.50 a year. The ad was refused. A Detroit sheet was also approached but turned it down.

A brass hat of the White Citizens Councils from Alabama, State Senator Sam Engelhardt, told Detroit newsmen in a phone conversation that Detroiters had written him for organizational literature and that he had sent it. He refused to identify those who asked saying they were "scared."

"Scared of what?" he was asked. "Scared of trouble," he replied. "But we're not scared of trouble down here."

The nightshirter said two newspapers in Chicago and one in Detroit had refused to run his recruiting ads.

"But I'm gonna keep on trying," he said. "I think I'll move on over East and try Philadelphia and New York, maybe."

Meanwhile, in Detroit, Flint, Lansing, copies of a White Citizens leaflet, mimeographed, are being circulated. A Ford worker from the Rouge plant brought us some he found in a plant washroom.

The vile language and epithets used are reminiscent of the murderous Black Legion days of the mid-thirties here.

THIS nightshirt vigilante movement of the Black Legion found its most violent expression in Detroit, Highland Park and places like Dearborn, and other Detroit

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downriver communities in the period of the early and mid-thirties when the union was organizing.

Founded under the leadership of admitted ex-Klansmen, the Legion's program was scarcely distinguishable from that of the Klan, except that the Black Legion more openly espoused murder as its weapon. Two of its first victims were John L. Bielak and George Marchuk, organizers for the Auto Workers Union. Marchuk was found dead in Lincoln Park, Dec. 22, 1933.

Another intended victim was Arthur Kingsley, Highland Park publisher. A former Mayor of Highland Park, is known to have met with Black Legion triggerman Dayton Dean to stress the importance of killing Kingsley who opposed this politician's attempt to get re-elected.

Dean and six other Black Legion killers, now doing life in Jackson prison here, have been seeking recently to get out on parole. Powerful forces are reported backing their parole.

The Black Legion killed 42-year-old Negro hod-carrier Silas Coleman, on May 25, 1935. They did it "for thrills" they confessed later. This is reminiscent of the recent murder of a Negro minister in the South, killed by rocks thrown from a car filled with WCC members.

IT'S NOT without significance that the murderous White Citizens Councils probe in this area in 1955 for members and to build chapters.

Their equivalent has been operating here for some time both past and present. Recent examples are on Robson Ave., Detroit, a man who said he was a Cherokee Indian and his wife who is white, bought a house and started to move in. A howling mob, reported led by a former Detroit police official stopped him, forced him to accept his money back and he left.

On Chalfonte Ave., a year ago bullets, bricks went through windows of a house bought by a Negro gasoline station attendant. He was driven out.

Two years ago, Dr. Samuel Milton, former Wayne County Coroner bought a house on the outskirts of Lincoln Park. A mob was formed and its leaders claimed to be members of "The Sons of the South," long-known as a thinly disguised replica of the KKK.

Down in the city of Wyndotte, Mich., near Dearborn, a tax raise of \$50 went into effect recently. Three hundred people came to the meeting to protest. One voice spoke out "they raised our taxes but it's still a lily white community."

On Grand River, near Burnette Ave., a Livernois Improvement Association threatened homeowners who were selling houses to Negro citizens.

DETROIT'S lily white residential areas are tightly organized by "Improvement Associations," which back during World War II helped to initiate the mob attacks on the Negro war workers moving into the Sojourner Truth Housing Project. The "Improvement" crowd were part of the murderous at-

tacks on Negroes during the "race riot" in 1943 that saw 30 people killed and several hundred injured.

These outfits support Mayor Albert E. Cobo and he in turn sabotages building any low cost, non-segregated housing in the all-white residential areas, thus doing his part to maintain large Negro ghettos that abound with rats and T.B.

AFTER THE war the KKK took on a new "look" here. It called itself "United Sons of America" had a headquarters on West Forest Ave. One of its top officials was "Nightshirt" Charlie Spare, former Michigan Grand Dragon. The "Sons of the South" also met at the West Forest address in 1946.

Today these organizations or their remnants so similar in program who pursued parallel paths; would have no difficulty in melding into the White Citizens Council. They were all foes of labor, were all white supremacist, were rebaiters, all practiced mob violence.

The White Citizens Councils is their 1956 version.

Citizens Council Re-elects Wright; Other Officers

Ellis W. Wright was re-elected to serve another year as president of the Jackson Citizens Council at a meeting of the Board of Directors Thursday.

Other officers re-elected were C. H. (Dick) King, vice president; W. J. Simmons, secretary; and Marvin Collum, treasurer.

Five additional members were welcomed to the board. Elected May 1 at the council's first anniversary meeting were John Corbett Bataille, deputy in the state tax collector's office; W. A. Harrison, building contractor; Allen Harvill, manager, Jitney Jungle No. 2; Russel D. Moore III, attorney; and B. R. Waldrop, engineer with the Illinois Central Railroad.

Wright, a co-founder of Wright and Ferguson Funeral Home, has served as director of the Hinds County Unit of the American Red Cross, as a member of the Board of Directors of the Salvation Army, on the budget committee of the Community Chest, as director of the Civil Defense Council of Hinds County, and as past president of the Chamber of Commerce.

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Mr. Tolson

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JACKSON DAILY NEWS
JACKSON, MISS.
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Communist Rule Integration Threat

Segregationists, Negroes included, have been ridiculed, maligned and labeled un-Christian by their opponents.

These self-styled humanitarians chant that integration will win because it is the law of the land.

They rant up and down that destiny, fate and the majority will side with the Supreme Court.

But is this so?

Are integrationists, on the side of law, or are they being used deceitfully for a less-obvious, far more devilish purpose?

Georgia Attorney General Eugene Cook, perhaps the South's outstanding battler for segregation, came up with some answers at the Jackson Citizens Council meeting Tuesday night.

Traveling about the country, Mr. Cook said he has yet to find an eminent lawyer, versed in the Constitution, who will concede the Supreme Court was on legal ground with its school integration ruling.

North and South, the nation's outstanding attorneys agree the high tribunal ruled not according to the Constitution, the Georgian declared, but on the theories of sociologists and psychologists.

That the Justices cited socio-psychological sources in their decision has been known from the start. But it's doubtful many laymen have understood the significance of a court ruling unimbedded in a Constitutional foundation.

Mr. Cook, a practitioner before the Supreme Court for 25 years; further asserted this premise in interpreting the Constitution and its Amendments. To apply a section or Amendment

of the Constitution to a present case, lawyers and judges historically have sought out the intent of its passers, meaning the Congress and the states.

From this accepted principal of interpretation, the attorney general opined, the Supreme Court could not support its decision with the 14th Amendment, but had to rely on sociology and psychology books.

Careful study of the Congress and states which ratified the 14th Amendment proves beyond doubt its passage was not concerned with school segregation or federal domination of the education system, Mr. Cook declared.

"Take my own state of Georgia, for example," he told the city auditorium rally. "We had a Republican governor and 33 Negroes sitting in the Legislature which ratified the 14th Amendment.

"That same Legislature, with the Republican governor and 33 Negroes, established a segregated public school system in Georgia."

Far from attune to law, that is, the Constitution, integrationists are helping the more-sinister ambition of Communists to center all U. S. government in Washington. The less dispersed the government, the fewer minds that must be brainwashed and directed in the Red quest for world dictatorship.

"Instead of having 48 governments to shoot at, as well as Washington, the Communists want only one, and they want that to be the federal government they hope to become a strong central power," Mr. Cook declared.

We feel the American people, whatever their views on the race issue, will wake up to the real threat facing our country.

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Cook Predicts Bloody Doom Of Freedom in Integration

JACKSON, Miss., May 1 (AP)—Atty. Gen. Eugene Cook of Georgia tonight predicted violence and bloodshed and the doom of freedom as long as the U.S. Supreme Court decision outlawing segregation remains.

Cook, addressing the first anniversary of the Jackson Citizens' Council, told an enthusiastic audience of about 1,000:

"Whether segregation is wrong in moral principle is not the most important issue raised by the Supreme Court decision. The most important issue, for Negroes and whites alike, is the usurpation of unwarranted, undelegated power by an arm of the federal government.

"Constitutional government as we heretofore have known it and

the philosophy upon which this decision was based are incompatible; and so long as it stands, or we bow to it, the liberties and heritage of freedom which we so zealously cherish in both the North and the South are doomed; and violence and bloodshed will be the order of the day until at last the vultures of communism will consume us—yes, until at last we have permitted racial suicide by two proud races—the African Negro and the Anglo-Saxon."

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CITIZENS' COUNCIL

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THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION
EDITOR: RALPH MC GILL
MAY 2, 1956

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Cook Cites Danger Court's Power Usurpation Hit By Council Speaker

By LAMAR FALKNER

The U. S. Supreme Court's usurpation of states' rights is more important than its ban on segregation, Atty. Gen. Eugene Cook of Georgia told a grim-faced audience of 2,000 Tuesday night at City Auditorium.

Addressing the first anniversary meeting of the Jackson Citizens Council, Cook said: "Whether segregation is wrong in moral principle is not the most important issue raised by the Supreme Court decision.

"The most important issue, for Negroes and whites alike, is the usurpation of unwarranted, undelegated power by an arm of the federal government.

"For if the Supreme Court can void state laws on segregation it can void other laws in other fields on the same pretext."

Standing before a huge Confederate flag beside an American flag beside an American flag, Cook was interrupted often by orderly applause. He was introduced by Mississippi Atty. Gen. Joe Patterson.

Racial Suicide

"Violence and bloodshed will be the order of the day until at last the vultures of Communism will consume us—yes, until at last we have permitted racial suicide of two proud races—the African Negro and the Anglo-Saxon," Cook declared.

"Whether you happen to approve or disapprove of segregation as a personal matter is of little concern, insofar as the court's decision is concerned," he said.

"Those whose honest beliefs may be against segregation have lost just as much by the court's decision as those who favor it," he said. "The preservation of liberty through an honest and conscientious interpretation of the constitution by the court transcends all other considerations of personal likes or dislikes."

fact, sought to amend the constitution to give the federal government jurisdiction over the education of all the children of this country."

It had the effect of reversing five U. S. Supreme Court decisions, 13 federal district court decisions and 55 state supreme court decisions.

"I am firmly convinced that unless adequate measures are taken to arrest the enforcement of this decision, we are doomed to years of violence and bloodshed," Cook said.

"If and when that day comes it will be the court and not the Southern people who, like Pilate, must spend their eternity attempting to rid their hands of the blood of a onetime proud people and nation," he said.

He pointed out that "notwithstanding insidious and unwarranted charges by a debauched segment of the press, radio and television, not one single incident of mob violence can be established against your operation."

"You are indeed fortunate," he said, "to have the strong arm of some of the finest and most effective newspaper publishers and columnists in your support."

He called the NAACP the "National Association for the Advancement of Communist Politics" and the "National Association for the Agitation of Colored People."

Cites Red Tinge

Cook repeated his charges, widely publicized several months ago, that the NAACP's leaders are mostly members of Communist-front organizations. He said these include the president, the board chairman, the honorary chairman, 11 of 28 vice presidents, the treasurer, 28 of 47 directors, chairman of the legal committee, the executive secretary, the special counsel and many others.

He said the court decision was based on sociology and psychology rather than law. Only objection to the old "separate but equal" doctrine of education was that it gives Negro children an "inferiority complex," he said.

"This conclusion is absurd on the face of it and reflects reprehensible intellectual dishonesty," Cook declared.

"The court ignored more than 100 years of judicial precedent, as well as the social customs of the regions affected," he asserted. "I read into the constitution meaning not intended by the most liberal of its framers, and, in ef-

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Cook Will Address Council At Jackson

Attorney General Eugene Cook, Georgia, will be the principal speaker at a celebration of the 1st anniversary of the Jackson Citizens Council, Tuesday night at 7:30 in city auditorium.

He will be introduced by Mississippi's Attorney General Joe T. Patterson. Lt. Gov. Carroll Gartin, Laurel, will be among those participating. Speaker of the Mississippi House of Representatives Walter Sillers, Rosedale, is also to attend.

Gov. J. P. Coleman will not be present, he having been called out of the city.

Secretary of State Heber Laddner cancelled plans to attend the local meeting in order to deliver an address to the Hattiesburg Citizens Council, Tuesday night also.

Ellis Wright, president of the Jackson Council, will have charge of the meeting which is expected to be attended by citizens' council officials from all sections of the state.

Robert (Tut) Patterson, Greenwood, executive secretary to the Mississippi Citizens' Council, will be on hand and may participate briefly in the program.

William J. Simmons, executive secretary to the Jackson Citizens' Council, will give the annual report

(Continued on Page 1)

Cook...

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on activities of the local group and aims for the next fiscal year.

The Hinds Junior college band, Raymond, is to supply music for the occasion, and the Hi-Steppers, accompanying majorettes, will perform on the auditorium stage with several dancing numbers. One of the best trained majorette groups in the nation, the Hi-Steppers have attended national and state conventions of several types, over the

country and are widely known for beauty and rhythmic dance routines.

Attorney General Cook, one of the several southern lawyers who have represented their states on behalf of segregation before the U. S. Supreme Court, will speak extemporaneously.

He is one of the best informed attorneys general in the South and has been extremely active in his efforts to maintain the segregated way of life in the South.

Recently, he advocated capital punishment for officials who at-

tempt to promulgate suits against any states segregation laws or school segregation regulations.

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Affairs of State

By CHARLES M. HILLS

A Jackson housewife, reading of the Montgomery, Ala., bus boycott, offers a solution.

"If I had a maid who boycotted the busses, I'd fire her," she declares. "If all the people in Montgomery employing Negroes who are causing trouble would do likewise, the problem there would soon be solved."

Well, that's rather drastic, and not at all in keeping with the announced policies of the Citizens' Councils, but it might work.

Milady's attitude, "meet a boycott with a boycott" might indeed transmit an idea, now mightn't it?

Attorney General Eugene Cook, of Georgia, is to be the speaker at a local rally of the Citizens' Council in the auditorium Tuesday night at 7:30.

We heard him argue segregation before the U. S. Supreme Court early last year, and you may rest assured that if you attend, you'll hear one of the most convincing speakers in this country.

Even the nine old men of the high bench seemed impressed, and that is something for that group to strain an ear toward a Southerner.

Dr. G. T. Gillespie, a southerner of the old school, told a crowd attending a Citizens Council rally in Forest Friday night that the people of the South have a right to "protest integration at the bar of reason."

"A decent respect for our opinions should be dealt us," he said. "We are trying to protect America from foolish and short-sighted politicians who know little of our situation and a burlesque of judicial authority."

Senator James O. Eastland, speaking to the same crowd at Forest, called to attention that The American Legion has turned thumbs down on UNESCO as a unit of the United Nations that seeks to infiltrate our schools.

"When we lose the minds of our children, we lose all," Eastland declared. "Yet, we are finding this thing financed with our own tax money."

"The states have the power to keep this UNESCO plan out of our schools and we should do so," he said.

Citing some of the teachings of UNESCO, Eastland read from its avowed purposes:

"As long as the American child breathes the poison air of patriotism, the education and advancement of the world is endangered."

The senators then commented, "this is the kind of ideals UNESCO presents. The only effective way to stop such is through the Citizens Council."

"We have a counter organization now, because we realize that without effective organization in the South we are bound to be crushed," Eastland said.

Judge T. P. Brady, author of "Black Monday," told the Forest crowd that the time has come for the South to take the offensive in the segregation fight.

He bent a lot of ears when he remained that the NAACP would have the Congress abolish the filibuster and thus forever silence the senators from the South.

Judge Brady dwelt on the efforts of the federal government to enter the field of education, declaring that the idea is born of the constitution of the Soviet Union.

"We as Mississippians will not bow down to a court of nine old men whose hearts are as black as their robes," he declared.

Citizens' Councils and State's Department

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Local Citizens Council Rally Is Tuesday

The Jackson Citizens' Council has announced additional plans for its first anniversary meeting scheduled Tuesday at 7:30 p.m. in City Auditorium.

Rev. Robert M. Matheny, Pastor of Leavell Woods Methodist church, will deliver the invocation.

Invitations are being sent to city, county and state officials to be on the platform with visiting officials from other Citizens' Councils and the Jackson board of directors.

Music and a special drill will be presented by the Hinds Junior College Hi-Steppers and band.

Eugene Cook, Attorney General of Georgia, will be principal speaker. He will be introduced by Joe T. Patterson, Attorney General of Mississippi.

Cook is reported to have addressed audiences totalling over 100,000

at Citizens' Council rallies during the past few weeks. The public is invited.

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JACKSON, MISS.

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Attorney General Of Georgia Coming To Jackson Council

Eugene Cook, attorney general of Georgia, will be the speaker for the first anniversary meeting of the Jackson Citizens' Council, to be held May 1 at 7:30 p. m. in the City Auditorium.

Invitations are being extended to top city, county and state officials to be seated on the platform as guests of honor along with visiting officials from other Citizens' Councils and the Jackson board of directors.

Music and a special drill will be presented by the Hinds Junior College Hi-Steppers and band and the invocation will be by the Rev. Robert M. Matheny, pastor of Leavell Woods Methodist Church.

Joe T. Patterson, attorney general of Mississippi, will introduce the guest speaker.

Attorney General Cook is reported to have addressed audiences totalling over 100,000 at Citizens' Council rallies in the past few weeks. He is a native Georgian and has served his state in various political positions for the past 23 years, being in his present post since 1945.

Twice a delegate to the National Democratic Convention, he has received many honors from various sources. He is now a member of three national groups: Commission of Uniform State Laws, Interstate Cooperation Commission and Interstate Oil Commission.

He is a member of the board of governors of the Council of State Governments, past president of the National Association of Attorneys General, past member of the house of delegates of the American Bar Assn., past district governor of Lions International, past vice-president of the Georgia Baptist Sunday School Convention and an honorary member of the Exchange Clubs of the United States.

Clipping from the Jackson Citizen-Recorder

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MAY 20 1956

Dixie Racial Units Here ---Hubbard

Pro-segregationist councils from at least one southern state are organizing chapters in the Detroit area, Mayor Orville L. Hubbard of Dearborn said Saturday.

"I was invited to attend a meeting in Highland Park last week," said Hubbard. "But I was unable to attend."

Hubbard said his mail in recent weeks has contained a flood of letters announcing the organization of Citizens Councils in Detroit, Flint and Lansing.

STRONG EVIDENCE

"There seems to be evidence of a strong segregationist movement in Michigan," he said.

"One big Detroit firm believes that if it receives one letter from a customer it indicates there are 500 others who feel the same way.

"On that basis I have heard from about 100,000 people on the pro-segregation issue."

Hubbard said that as far as he knows there is no chapter being organized in Dearborn.

"NO TROUBLE HERE"

"We have no trouble here," he said.

He said he understood the Dearborn Independent, a weekly newspaper, had been asked to run an advertisement soliciting members for the Citizens Council of Alabama, but had refused.

Alabama State Senator Sam Engelhardt, executive secretary of the Alabama group, said Detroiters have written for organizational ~~information~~ and it has been mailed to them.

M. A. Rosen 4260

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*Detroit News
Sunday Edition 4/29/56
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Court Verdicts Helping South

Eastland Heading For Washington

Mississippians Saturday were checking up on another action-packed week on the segregation front as Sen. Jim Eastland rested at his Delta home before taking off for Washington again.

In addresses at Tupelo and Forest, Sen. Eastland stressed the point that recent Supreme Court decision invading the field of states' rights have helped the Southern situation.

He referred specifically to the anti-sedition jurisdiction cases in which the high court declared the states have no control in this area. Such decisions, interfering with the various states' ability to deal with problems within their own borders, create more sympathy for the Southern attitude toward the court's invasion of the field of school enrollments.

Friday in Jackson, Negro speakers used violent language and pleas in a rally held here. Attendance was only a fraction of the predicted gathering.

By contrast, Sen. Eastland, was calm and measured in his remarks, and insisted that violence will hurt the situation, not help it. "We cannot countenance violence," he said. "Our fundamental obligation to our own cause is to see that no human being is mistreated."

Sen. Eastland recalled that the court has successively denied the states the right to regulate their own schools, to regulate natural resources within their own borders, seized state authority over navigable waters wholly in state boundaries, interfered with the right to prescribe conditions for hiring and firing teachers, voided the sedition laws of 42 states, including Mississippi, and now has prohibited state regulation of passenger seating on buses in wholly local situations.

Recent decisions of the court involving Communists or pre-Communist sympathizers "have demonstrated to the people of all the country that something is badly wrong with the supreme court."

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**Citizens' Council
Praises Thompson
Pledges Support
In Bus Problem**

The Jackson Citizens' Council Wednesday afternoon addressed a letter of commendation to Mayor Allen C. Thompson in regard to his position on racial integration on buses operating in the city.

Pledging full support of the Council, the letter to Mayor Thompson was signed by Ellis W. Wright. It follows:

"We strongly commend the positive and forthright position which you took concerning the most recent racial integration edict of the United States Supreme Court, which attempts to usurp the prerogative of the separate States to regulate segregation on buses operating wholly within the State.

"You may rest assured that you have the active support of the Jackson Citizens' Council in your stand to maintain strict segregation on the Jackson buses.

"To those of us who have been active in the Citizens' Council movement to mobilize public sentiment for segregation, racial integrity and the maintenance of public order, it is inconceivable how there could remain one shred of apathy or indifference in Jackson on this grave question.

"The threat of racial integration, with all the abhorrent forces it turns loose in a community, is right on our doorstep.

"Very friendly relations exist between the white and negro races in Jackson and the State of Mississippi. We want this situation to continue. We feel it will continue if left undisturbed by outside agitators."

Citizens' Councils Adv. in the Light of Present

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C. F. Williams

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Councils Give Mayor Praise On Bus Issue

Mayor Allen Thompson was lauded by the Jackson Citizens' Council today for his "positive and forth-right" declaration that racial segregation will be maintained on city buses.

Ellis W. Wright, president of the local chapter of the segregationist group, wrote Thompson he could "rest assured that you have the active support of the Jackson Citizens' Council."

Thompson said the U. S. Supreme Court decision Monday banning separate seating for Negroes and whites in intrastate travel will be ignored as far as Jackson buses are concerned.

"Very friendly relations exist between the races in Jackson and the state of Mississippi," Wright wrote. "We want this situation to continue and we feel it will continue if left undisturbed by outside agitators."

Citizen Council in New Orleans. King's... 105-34237

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STATE TIMES
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MAY 21 1956

Affairs of State

By CHARLES M. HILLS

A rally will be staged by the Central Mississippi Citizens Council at Forest Friday, with U. S. Senator James O. Eastland as the principal speaker.

It so happens that on that same day, an opposite group, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, will be staging an affair in Jackson.

The Mississippi Citizens Council recently announced a listing of some of the prominent speakers in this state who are available for addresses on the "Black Monday" decision of the U. S. Supreme Court.

Heading the list is Ross E. Barnett, Jackson attorney and candidate for governor last summer.

Among the others are Tom Barentine, Greenwood industrialist; Judge Tom B. Brady, Brookhaven; M. L. Branch, Winona; Edward Britt, Indianola; Dr. W. M. Caskey, Clifton; Tom Q. Ellis, Jackson.

Mrs. Mary D. Cain, Summit, candidate for governor last year; Rev. G. T. Gillespie, Jackson; Elmore Greaves, Jackson; J. O. Hollis, Carthage; Rep. Wilburn Hooker, Lexington; Former Senator Fred Jones, Inverness.

Garner M. Lester, Jackson; C. S. McGivaren, Clarksdale; Judge M. M. McGowan, Jackson; Rep. Jimmie Morrow, Brandon; Chairman Alex McKeigney, State Tax Commission; Rev. J. P. Neal, Tchula; R. B. Patterson, Greenwood; Mrs. Halla Mae Pattison, Jackson; Rev. J. L. Pipkin, Blue Mountain; John Satterfield, Jackson; Rev. Otis Seal, Itta Bena; W. J. Simmons, Jackson; Glenn Trusty, Tupelo; Hugh V. Wall, Brookhaven; Will E. Ward, Starksville; Congressman John Bell Williams, Raymond; P. F. Williams

Sr., Clarksdale; Ellis W. Wright, Jackson; Former Gov. Fielding L. Wright, Jackson.

Attorney General Joe T. Patterson told the Jackson Kiwanis Club here the other day that "if enough states would join Mississippi on interposition, I would have no fear but that we could maintain segregation."

You'd think that in view of the latest abridgement of states' rights by the supreme court of the United States . . . abolition of segregation intra-state on busses and trains, that all the Southern states would band together and fight.

But, unless there is a radical change, all we'll get will be lip service from some.

The South seems to be practicing the "divided we fall" theory. We are all agreed we want segregation but we can't get together on method.

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CITIZENS COUNCILS AND STATES RIGHT MOVEMENTS

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JACKSON, MISS.

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MAY 21 1956

Cook Defies Threat Of Jail For Resisting Integration

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GENERAL

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CITIZENS' COUNCIL HEARS COOK — Eugene Cook, attorney general of the State of Georgia, is seated here on the stage of Municipal auditorium where he addressed the Jackson Citizens' Council Tuesday night. Shown left to right,

are Lt. Gov. Carroll Gartin, Speaker of the House Walter Sillers, Atty. Gen. Joe Patterson and Atty. Gen. Cook. In background is Norman Johnson, public service commissioner. (Photo by Bill Dalton).

Says Local Jails Won't Be Used For The Purpose

Dares Court To Undertake 'Housing Project'

By CHARLES M. HILLS

The attorney general of Georgia last night challenged the U. S. Supreme Court to build enough jails to incarcerate the school officials of his state who will resist integration of the races.

Speaking at the first anniversary meeting of the Jackson Citizens' Council in the city auditorium here

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Attorney General Eugene Cook declared that "we don't have to use our jails to accommodate the supreme court."

He explained his suggestion to the legislature of his state that it adopt an act making cooperation of officials of Georgia with the anti-segregation edicts of the court a capital offense.

"I have urged that the legislature penalize any state or county official allowing the use of our jails to hold any person resisting de-segregation by capital punishment," Cook said.

"We have a right to defend our way of life."

"There is only one federal jail in Georgia and it is in Atlanta, unable to contain all the persons who will resist de-segregation. We do not intend that any of our local jails shall be used for such purposes."

"Therefore," declared Cook, "if the supreme court tries to arrest all the persons who resist de-segregation, they will have to build their own jails and that will be the biggest housing project the world has seen. And, they will have to ask southern members of Congress to do it."

Cook told his audience that Georgia is prepared to close any public school in which de-segrega-

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tion is sought to be practiced. ~~The Hinds Junior college band~~
I challenge the supreme court, provided music for the occasion
to say that any sovereign state with the Hi-Steppers, lovely ma-
cannot close its schools or spend jorettes giving several dance num-
its public funds as it sees fit," he bers.

said. William Simmons, local citizens
Attorney General Cook struck at council secretary, gave an annual
the infiltration of the churches, the report on activities and aims of
universities and even the courts the council.
by the Communists.

"Even our own attorney gen-
eral of the United States has gone
to bed with the Communists," he
declared.

"We have been infiltrated in the
churches, civil government, schools
and the Supreme Court with mod-
ern scalawags and carpetbaggers
preaching gradual integration, but
be modern about it," he said.

"If we continue to listen to the
doctrine of gradualism by people
who say segregation is un-Chris-
tian, we have a dark future a-
head," he declared.

"Fuzzy-minded professors and
clergymen are seeking to destroy
the principles of our creation," he
said. The trend toward centraliza-
tion of government as offered by
the Supreme Court is setting up a
number one target for the Soviet,
instead of 48 targets as the indi-
vidual states."

Cook told his audience that the
NAACP is in reality the National
Association for the Promotion of
Communism and that 62 of its top
national officials have been proven
to have Communist affiliations.

He said, however, that the great
danger in encroachments by the
Supreme Court on state's sov-
ereignty is not the segregation is-
sue, but the actual liberties of all
the people, white and colored in
the North as well as in the South.

The speaker was introduced to
the some 1,500 persons attending
the rally here by Mississippi's At-
torney General Joe T. Patterson,
who pronounced himself as a mem-
ber of the Mississippi Citizens'
Council and "proud of it."

"They call us the hard core of
resistance to de-segregation," Pat-
terson told his audience, "and they
will still be calling us that a hun-
dred years hence."

The meeting was presided over
by Ellis Wright, president of the
Jackson Citizens' Council.

Among prominent public officials
attending and occupying seats of
honor were Lt. Gov. Carroll Gar-
tin, Speaker of the House Walter
Sillers, Dick King, former presi-
dent of the Jackson Chamber of
Commerce; Mayor Allen C.
Thompson, City Commissioners D.
L. Luckey and Chalmers Alex-
ander, and a large number of leg-
islators.

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(NOTE TO EDITORS: This is the second of two articles on labor's role in the battle over desegregation in the south. It is based on a confidential report prepared by a southern labor leader and made available to the national AFL-CIO headquarters in Washington. - The Hall Syndicate, Inc.)

INSIDE LABOR

By Victor Riesel

A powerful bloc of southern labor leaders is telling national union chiefs in Washington to mind their own business and shut up on the Negro issue -- which may yet trigger a violent civil war inside labor.

[Handwritten signatures: Cunningham, O'Neil, etc.]

Angry telegrams, resolutions and letters are pouring into the AFL-CIO's Washington headquarters and the other labor buildings which sprang up in the capital last year when labor developed an edifice complex.

[Handwritten signatures: O'Neil, etc.]

All this is revealed in a confidential report on labor's hectic role in the fury over desegregation of Negroes. The report has been shown to the top AFL-CIO leaders -- who have learned from it that the same southern bloc of second echelon union officials, representing some 250,000 followers, wants a statement from labor's high command which will give them the right to work openly, and in labor's name, with the White Citizens Councils.

This amazing report is given full credence by the nation's top union chiefs in Washington because it was made by an unimpeachable official, H.L. Mitchell. He is leader of the AFL-CIO's Agricultural Workers Union.

Mitchell disclosed that there is a good possibility that the southern revolt may lead to a labor split below the Mason-Dixon line which would wipe out the official AFL-CIO there after 75 years.

Specifically he said:

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"Some of the union leaders want to work out a method of operation which will permit them to live with the White Citizens' Council movement. This would involve a public statement by the president of the AFL-CIO to the effect that there is room for dissent on the civil rights issue and that traditional procedure of the labor movement permits local, state and national autonomy by affiliates on all issues."

Mr. Labor, George Meany, AFL-CIO president, will never issue such a statement. Reports are that, quite to the contrary, he is exploring ways of fighting southern labor's cooperation with the Councils.

This is quite a job Meany has taken on. There are 500 White Citizens' Councils in 15 southern states. They have 250,000 members. A great number of them are labor members who, from time to time, have threatened to throw northern unionists out of meetings when they've gone south to fight the Councils and push desegregation.

Mitchell, in his report submitted on March 12, full details of which are being made public here for the first time, pinpointed the plants, unions and cities in which he says the White Citizens' Councils have strong labor support.

Mitchell reported:

"In Birmingham, Alabama, workers employed in the steel mills of Fairfield, Tarrant City and Bessemer are the base of organization for the White Citizens' Council. There are two factions of the White Citizens' Councils vying (sic) for support of the white trade union members in this large industrial area.."

"In Memphis, Tennessee, workers employed in the Firestone rubber plant, the Ford assembly plant and the International Harvester Co., are believed to constitute a majority of the White Citizens' Councils and the Pro-Southerners, Inc.

"One of the units of the White Citizens' Councils is led by a man long active in the trade unions of Tennessee. He is Robert A. Tillman, an International Typographical Union member, once a regional director for the Textile Workers Organizing Committee and more recently an active official of the Joint Legislative Committee composed of AFL, CIO and Railway Labor and, as such, was a leader in the fight against the "right-to-work" law in Tennessee," Mitchell said.

He lists a string of other unions whose members and officials are similarly active. Mitchell concludes with:

"Very little new organization work can be successfully undertaken in the south by either the staffs of the AFL-CIO or those of the national and international unions in the face of the racial crisis."

Up to this minute there has been no move by labor's national leaders. They see the storm coming. And it's quite a thunderhead. They hope it will blow right past without their finding themselves in the middle.

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INSIDE LABOR

By Victor Riesel

An extremely secret investigation of the White Citizens Councils' activities has recently been completed by one of labor's most respected southern experts. He has turned in a report stating flatly that the AFL-CIO is in considerable danger of being wiped out in the south.

minutes

The report also asserts that southern labor is not only active in the councils but that officials of many powerful unions lead them, sit on their executive boards and are responsible for some of the riots and other turbulence which have marked the racial crisis.

Well
H. B. ...
...

There is the blunt charge that there never would have been a long Negro boycott of the Montgomery, Ala., bus lines -- the spark which lit the racial fuse -- if the AFL-CIO bus drivers' union had not prevented a settlement.

The seven-page memorandum, prepared by the AFL-CIO's Agricultural Workers Union leader, H. L. Mitchell, discloses that over 250,000 union members follow the councils -- and that they are ready to join in an all-white Southern Federation of Labor.

National labor leaders and friends of the AFL-CIO were electrified by the report, for its objectivity can't be disputed. Mitchell is of the old school of labor leaders who have sacrificed lives and careers to build a labor movement, many times going hungry and often living in great physical danger because of their devotion to unionism.

The report, completed March 12, states that informed national labor leaders told Mitchell that "they never have seen the membership of the local unions so stirred over any issue as they have been by the racial crisis in the South."

"While I have found no evidence of the actual organization of an independent union movement, there is widespread talk of the formation of a Southern Federation of Labor based on segregation," Mitchell revealed.

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"Several local unions have already adopted resolutions to disaffiliate with AFL-CIO nationally.....

"The situation is made to order for a resourceful organizer with trade union experience to take the initiative and tie together the trade union element already represented in the fast-growing White Citizens Council movement in Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, South Carolina and Tennessee."

Mitchell states that "the center of this disturbance is at present in Alabama."

"The trade union movement will be set back five to 10 years by this crisis," he warned his colleagues.

"If and when an independent union movement based on segregation is launched, it will attract practically all of the white union membership. Without the leadership of the whites, the Negro members will fall away...."

Mitchell substantiates his statements with specifics such as follows:

Writing about the dramatic bus boycott in Montgomery -- for which Negro leaders have just been tried -- he said:

"In Montgomery the three months old bus boycott was due in large part to the role of the local bus drivers union....Disinterested parties who interviewed both the local manager and top officials of the National City Lines in Chicago say the issue could have been settled on the basis of the original demands of the Negro bus patrons if it had not been for the attitude of the local union....Threats of a work stoppage by the bus drivers in the case of disciplinary action by the company was the excuse given."

Mitchell then reports that a telephone workers local of the Communications Workers of America was among the first to adopt a resolution for disaffiliation from the AFL-CIO -- and included in the proceedings a demand that the Negroes be FORCED to ride the buses. Representatives of the mother union, the CWA, were almost heaved physically from the union hall when they defended the civil rights position of the AFL-CIO.

-MORE-

Victor Riesel

Page 3

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Another union -- a 1,200 member Oil and Chemical Workers affiliate -- voted to bolt the AFL-CIO. In Montgomery County itself four of the seven men on the White Citizens Council executive board are reported to be union members, Mitchell says. He also gives credence to reports that the rioting at the University of Alabama was "organized and led by union members from nearby rubber, paper and steel plants."

In Georgia, Mitchell writes union leaders throughout the state are reported to be joining the bandwagon for Herman Talmadge for election to the U.S. Senate seat now held by Walter George.

The national labor leaders have an "Operation Dixie" on their hands -- but not the one they planned.

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(INTERPOSITION)

ATLANTA—GEORGIA ATTORNEY GENERAL EUGENE COOK SAID THE SUPPORT OF ONLY THREE MORE STATES IS NEEDED TO MAKE DIXIE'S INTERPOSITION STAND A SUCCESS.

COOK SAID FIVE STATES HAVE PASSED INTERPOSITION RESOLUTIONS. FIVE MORE HAVE REPORTED TO HIM THAT THEY INTEND TO ADOPT SUCH RESOLUTIONS AT COMING SESSIONS OF THEIR LEGISLATURES, HE SAID.

COOK SAID THAT ONLY THREE MORE OF THE REMAINING SEVEN STATES THAT HAVE PRACTICED LEGAL SEGREGATION ARE NECESSARY TO ACHIEVE "THE MAGIC NUMBER OF 13."

"INTERPOSITION RESOLUTIONS BY 13 STATES ARE AN AFFIRMATIVE REJECTION UNDER THE AMENDING POWERS WHICH WILL UPHOLD THE POSITION OF THE STATES THAT THE (U.S. SUPREME COURT'S) SEGREGATION DECISION IS NULL AND VOID." COOK SAID.

COOK MADE THE STATEMENT AT THE EMORY LAW SCHOOL FORUM ON INTERPOSITION TODAY.

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WASHINGTON CITY NEWS SERVICE

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Civil rights proponents in Congress are preparing to launch a move, after the current Easter recess, to try and ram through legislation providing for creation of a Civil Rights Commission, with subpoena powers; creation of a special Justice Department division to supervise civil rights questions, and measure to permit any citizen to sue any person or organization that denied, or sought to deny, the right of suffrage in any state. Negro leaders, sparkplugged by the NAACP, grow more and more insolent and arrogant in their demands. They ride high in the saddle in Washington.

The North Carolina Advisory Committee on Education follows the example of Mississippi and says that an attempt to enforce integration will result in abandonment of the public school system. The pertinent paragraph of the committee's report says: We are of the unanimous opinion that the people of North Carolina will not support mixed schools. This is to say that we believe that if the schools were integrated in this State, the General Assembly, representing the people, would withhold support to a degree that the result would certainly be the ruin and eventual abandonment of the public schools. Whether a particular viewpoint finds this conclusion to be good or bad, pleasant or unpleasant, it remains our conclusion and we state it as such.

Personal to Mr. and Mrs. John Citizen: If you are not a member of your local Citizens Council you should join immediately. Your name and influence are both needed for the fight ahead. As never before in this century we need courage, coolness, tolerance, and good will by the members of all races. We need the very best leadership which our generation can provide, unselfish, farseeing, statesman-like leadership. Above all, we need the opportunity to solve our monumental problem with the minimum of outside, uninformed interference, pressures and compulsion.

CITIZENS COUNCILS AND
STATES RIGHTS MOVEMENTS

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FRED SULLENS, EDITOR
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Segregation Necessary, N. C. School Report Says

RALEIGH, N. C., April 5 (AP) — Racial segregation in schools must be preserved if North Carolina is to save its public schools, the State's Advisory Committee on Education declared tonight.

It proposed that the state do this through use of a school assignment law passed by the 1955 legislature, and asked that a special session of the legislature be called to: (1) allow financial grants for children to attend non-sectarian private schools to keep them from having to attend mixed schools, and (2) allow local communities to vote to close their schools to avoid "intolerable" situations.

In its long-awaited report on steps the state should take to meet the segregation crisis, the committee declared that the U. S. Supreme Court segregation decision has dealt the state's public schools "a near fatal blow" and immediate action is needed to save them.

The report said in its opinion the Supreme Court had not required the mixing of the race in the schools but forbidden them from being excluded from a school because of race.

It expressed the opinion a school board using the assignment law "may well find, if it acts honestly and in the light of local conditions, that under existing conditions it may not be feasible or best for a particular child to go to a particular school with children of another race."

The report said the committee was unanimous in the opinion that the people of the state "will not support mixed schools" and expressed the belief that if the schools were integrated the legislature would "withhold support to a degree that the result would certainly be the ruin and eventual abandonment of the public schools."

The school system has been built on the "foundation stone of separation of the race," it declared and added that the Supreme Court has "destroyed the school system which we had developed." However, it said the court's decision is "the result of law and is binding upon us."

But, it said, "defiance of the Supreme Court would be foolhardy." It might alienate those "who may be won to our way of thinking," it might "worfelt" consideration we must have from the Federal judges if we are to educate our children now," and it "could mean the closing of the public schools very quickly."

Fannie O. Morrow

Fannie O'Connell Morrow, 78, a native of Fort Dodge, Iowa, and a former resident of Washington, died Wednesday at her home in Clearwater, Fla.

She was a graduate of Vassar College.

Funeral services will be held in Arlington Cemetery at 11 a. m. Monday. She is the widow of the late Col. Henry M. Morrow and is survived by three sons, Maurice M. Condon of Belleair, Fla., Col. Reynolds Condon of Ft. Jackson, S. C., and Clarence M. Condon of Maumee, Ohio, and 8 grandchildren.

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O. C. Morrow, Jr. 1155 Park Street

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New, Soft Voice Fights Desegregation in South

Gov. Coleman of Mississippi A Far Cry from the Rankins

(The issue is desegregation—whether white and Negro children shall attend the same schools in the South. But on a broader basis the whole future role of Negro-white relationships in Dixie is at stake.)

(To cover this vital story the Daily News has sent veteran Southern newspaperman, Bert Collier, to report on Dixie's time of tension, its time of decision. Another of his stories follows.)

BY BERT COLLIER
Chicago Daily News Service

JACKSON, Miss. — A new voice is being heard in Mississippi, which once echoed to the Rankins and the Bilbos.

The big man today is Gov. J. P. Coleman, the 42-year-old, one-time farm boy from Yockanookany Creek, who preaches calmness and moderation in the battle over segregation.

Warning of blunders that might result from hot-headed action, Coleman says:

"In these times, persons of responsibility must think things through before they take positions of no return."

Calmness and reason do not disguise the fact that Coleman, and the vast majority of white Mississippians are dead set against integration in any form.

"The only difference," said one aide, "is in ways to achieve the common goal."

Under Coleman's leadership, Mississippi believes it has found the answer.



GOV. COLEMAN

It has set up a super-government, called the State Sovereignty Commission. This agency's job, under a law just passed and signed, is:

"To do any and all acts and things deemed necessary and proper to protect the sovereignty of the State of Mississippi and her sister states from encroachment by the federal government and to resist the usurpation of the rights and powers reserved to this state by the federal government."

AS ONE Mississippian said, "It is the nearest thing to the

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Miss Gandy

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CHICAGO DAILY NEWS

RED STREAK Edition

Date April 4, 1956

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Articles of Confederacy since the Articles of Confederacy.”

In carrying out this broad directive, the commission may subpoena any witness, force the production of any document or record, under penalty of prison or fine.

The commission may receive and spend state and private funds and employ all legal and professional help needed.

Every elective and appointive officer in Mississippi must “render aid and assistance.”

The Aim Behind Powerful Commission

Specifically, this all-powerful commission, which the governor heads, was set up to implement the “Resolution of Interposition” which the legislature passed.

Declaring the U.S. Supreme Court’s integration rulings null, the resolution said all Mississippi officials, including judges and police, are “bound to prohibit, by peaceful, lawful and constituted means, any act of racial integration in public schools, parks, waiting rooms,

places of amusement, recreation or assembly in this state.”

COLEMAN says the two measures will prevent any integration in Mississippi, where the white and Negro population is almost equal, for years to come.

By then, Mississippi leaders are confident that the crisis will have passed and forces seeking to integrate the races in the South will have realized their mistake.

Jessie P. Stennis, one of the governor’s executive aides, a former marine officer, used military tactics to describe the situation.

STENNIS, brother of Mississippi’s U. S. senator, said that continued and complete segregation is the ultimate objective of every white citizen.

“We are holding the line with the State Sovereignty Act,” said Stennis.

“Soon we will be able to move on to our next position.”

The next step isn’t clear now. Stennis, with others, believes it will be a reconsideration and tempering of the Supreme Court rulings, or a constitutional amendment leaving con-

trol of education with the states.

“Such an amendment would not pass now, but more and more Northern white citizens are coming around to our point of view,” said Stennis.

Promises Segregation Without Turmoil

Coleman’s first step on taking office was to promise continued segregation without fuss.

“It told the people we would maintain segregation without keeping the state in a daily uproar of confusion and uncertainty,” he said.

“I am confident that when I go out of office four years from now, separation of the races will be exactly the same as now.”

BORN ON his father’s farm, which has been in the family more than a century, Coleman worked in the fields and sought to pay his tuition at the University of Mississippi with a load of sweet potatoes.

Recalling those days, the governor’s simple office displays a gilded plow presented by the capitol press corps, members of which admire him tremendously.

The new governor got his entire program through the legislature, traditionally independent. He won control of the highway and the game and fish departments and the parole board,

long political satrapies. He was the first governor to slap down the powerful privately owned utilities.

COLEMAN has his eye on national opinion. In an appeal to other states, he said that though Mississippi would never tolerate integration, it would defend its way of life by law, not violence.

Working under the portrait of Winthrop Sargent, first territorial governor before Mississippi became a state in 1815, Coleman said:

“If we maintain the rules of racial segregation, our place in history will be secure.

“But there is nothing which will excuse our failure in the eyes of the people.”

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McGowan

Integration Issue Big Threat to AFL-CIO in South

By VICTOR RIESEL

An extremely secret investigation of the White Citizens Councils' activities has recently been completed by one of labor's most respected experts on the South—and he has turned in a report stating flatly that the AFL-CIO is in considerable danger of being wiped out in the South.

The report also asserts that Southern labor is not only active in the councils, but that officials of many powerful unions lead them, sit on their executive boards and are responsible for some of the riots and other turbulence which have marked the racial crisis.



Victor Riesel

There is the blunt charge that there never would have been a long Negro boycott of the Montgomery, Ala., bus lines—the spark which lit the fuse—if the AFL-CIO bus drivers' union had not prevented a settlement.

THE SEVEN-PAGE MEMORANDUM, prepared by the AFL-CIO's Agricultural Workers Union leader, H. L. Mitchell, discloses that over 250,000 union members

follow the councils—and that they are ready to join in an all-white Southern Federation of Labor.

National labor leaders and friends of the AFL-CIO were electrified. Mitchell is of the old school of labor leaders who have sacrificed lives and careers to build a labor movement, many times going hungry and often living in great physical danger because of their devotion to unionism.

"While I have found no evidence of the actual organization of an independent union movement, there is widespread talk of the formation of a Southern Federation of Labor based on segregation," Mitchell revealed.

"SEVERAL LOCAL UNIONS have already adopted resolutions to disaffiliate with AFL-CIO nationally...

"The situation is made to order for a resourceful organizer with trade-union experience to

take the initiative and tie together the trade-union element already represented in the fast growing White Citizens Council movement in Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, South Carolina and Tennessee."

Mitchell states that the center of this disturbance is at present in Alabama.

"THE TRADE UNION movement will be set back five to 10 years by this crisis," he warned his colleagues.

"In Montgomery the three-months-old bus boycott was due in large part to the role of the local bus drivers' union... Disinterested parties who interviewed both the local manager and top officials of the National City Lines in Chicago say the issue could have been settled on the basis of the original demands of the Negro bus patrons if it had not been for the attitude of the local union... Threats of a work stoppage by the bus drivers in the case of disciplinary action by the company was the excuse given."

Mitchell then reports that a phone workers' local of the Communications Workers of America

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ANOTHER UNION — a 1,200-member Oil and Chemical Workers affiliate—voted to bolt the AFL-CIO. In Montgomery County itself four of the seven men on the White Citizens Council executive board are reported to be union members, Mitchell says. He also gives credence to reports that the rioting at the University of Alabama was “organized and led by union members from nearby rubber, paper and steel plants.”

In Georgia, Mitchell writes, union leaders throughout the state are reported to be joining the bandwagon for Herman Talmadge for election to the U.S. Senate seat now held by Walter George.

The national labor leaders have an “Operation Dixie” on their hands—but not the one they planned.

Editorial Research

Citizens Council In South

The growing White Citizens Council movement is becoming a major factor in racial tensions in the South. The movement was set in motion by the Supreme Court school desegregation decision of May 1954. Recently it has been taking on, at least in some areas, a conservative political coloration.

The first White Citizens Council, according to a study made by a native Georgian, H. C. Fleming, assistant director of the Southern Regional Council, was established in Indianola, Miss., a few months after the high Court ruling, or a little less than two years ago. Mississippi now has about 300 councils, embracing about 80,000 members, according to one estimate.

The organization spread rapidly in the Black Belt counties of Texas, Arkansas, Alabama, South Carolina, and Georgia. The Council in the city of New Orleans alone claims about 7000 members.

Who belong to the Councils? One of the leaders in the New Orleans Council is the district attorney and former judge, Leander Perez. Fleming says: "Even critics of the WCC will concede that many of the leaders of the movement have community status in terms of political influence, economic power, or both." One such critic, Hodding Carter, editor of the Greenville, Miss., Delta Democrat - Times, makes that concession and then goes on to say:

They are primarily, men with an obses-

sion—namely that integration of the public schools means blood integration as well—and this obsession is shared by many who abhor the Councils. It may be remembered unhappily that at the outset of the (Ku Klux) Klan's revival in the '20's, men also gave way to their obsessions, whether about Negro, Catholic or Jew or all three.

Carter goes on to suggest that the Councils are potential instruments for imposing rule by "terror." The Mississippi House of Representatives in a resolution adopted—89 to 19—on April 1, 1955 termed the magazine article here quoted as untrue and denounced Carter.

The Council movement is an amorphous grouping; published statements insist that the local councils are independent. However, the first issue of the WCC official publication pointed out that subsequent issues would be mailed to members in the states where the movement has taken hold, also to members of seven other pro-segregation organizations. Fleming cites at least 20 such groups in addition to the Councils, including a revived Klan and the National Association for the Advancement of White People.

The Montgomery Advertiser has criticized editorially the "economic thuggery" and the "manicured Kluxism" of the Citizens Councils in their use of "economic pressure." Such pressure was advocated by one of the original Council leaders, former state Sen. Fred Jones of Mississippi, who declared in October 1954:

We can accomplish our purposes largely with economic pressure in dealing with members of the Negro race who are not cooperating, and with members of the white race . . . we can apply social and political pressure.

But another Southern editor, Thomas R. Waring, of Charleston, S. C., sees the Councils as "protective organizations" formed "to combat the lawless element" by "law-abiding white men—who are determined not to yield to pressures they still regard as contrary to the guarantees of the Constitution."

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High Point Enterprise
High Point, N.C.
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SQUELCHING A YANKEE

Several days ago the bigoted and blue-bellied Yankees who compose the lower house of the Massachusetts legislature to pass a resolution of "sympathy" for Negroes in Alabama. It was a loosely framed and sickly sentimental bellyache of language and provoked Mr. Robert Patterson, of Greenwood, secretary of the Citizens Councils for Mississippi, to send the following letter to the Speaker of the lower house of the Massachusetts legislature:

We in the South have noted the action taken by your legislature in "Sympathy" with the negroes of Alabama.

Since you have shown such an interest in the problems of the South we hope that you will go one step further.

Would your legislature in the true spirit of Christian brotherhood pass this resolution? "Resolved" that the members of the Massachusetts Legislature in behalf of the citizens that they represent welcome into the state of Massachusetts a few hundred thousand Southern negroes".

By your previous enactment of sympathy you have shown your understanding and sense of duty and therefore it is only fitting that your legislature should be the first in the North to pass the above resolution.

We in the South will give your resolution wide publicity and in this way while we can share your "Sympathy" you will have an opportunity to share our problem.

We await your reply.

Speaker Michael F. Skerry replied as follows:

"Many thanks for your letter in regards to the resolution filed by Representative Harold Putnam, a Republican in the House. I can assure you I will send the information to him."

Representative Putnam, a Republican, has not personally replied. He probably won't.

We must therefore assume that he would not welcome any of our colored folks in his home state.

SA LINDA RAY
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Curb NAACP

State Creates Powerful Sovereignty Commission

By KEITH FULLER

The Mississippi Legislature Thursday will complete work on a permanent and powerful 12-man State Sovereignty Commission whose single mission is to fight "federal encroachment."

The commission's powers virtually amount to a blank check. The lawmakers went all the way to give it the state's strongest weapons.

These include the power to subpoena witnesses and records and to place those called before it under oath, with the threat of fines and imprisonment for perjury.

During House debate it was pointed out that records of the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People could be subpoenaed for reasons coming within the scope of the commission's power.

The commission, which will operate under a strong mandate from the Legislature to "do and perform any and all acts and things deemed necessary and proper to protect the sovereignty of the state . . ." will in effect be an extra-legal tribunal of record. All of its public proceedings will be officially recorded.

The segregation issue was paramount in the creation of the commission but its mandate goes far beyond to include anything the state deems federal encroachment on states rights.

The House passed the measure yesterday by a vote of 129-2 and it is scheduled for early consideration in the Senate today. Its final passage is assured.

Under terms of the bill, the governor will serve as chairman of the body and the lieutenant governor as vice chairman. The membership will be composed of three members appointed by the governor from each of the three supreme court districts; two from the Senate appointed by the lieutenant governor and three from the House appointed by the speaker. The Attorney General, and

Speaker of the House make up the 12. In addition to battling against integration, the commission is to support the doctrine of interposition and cooperate with other Southern states in this effort.

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Lauds Jackson Facilities

UP Man Finds Negroes Widely Divided in Integration Views

By AL KUETTNER
United Press Staff Correspondent

Let's consider this race question from the viewpoint of the man it's all about.

Does the Negro in the segregated states want to mix with the whites? Is he ready for integration? Will it help his race?

During a 2,500-mile tour of Dixie, I have talked with dozens of Negroes about just that. They ranged from NAACP leaders to cotton field hands, from bankers to a barber whose customers earn 30 cents an hour.

There is a big division of opinion among the South's Negroes. By no means do all of them want integration, even in the schools.

Several Elements

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People represents one element. It wants immediate integration. It contends with justification that it has proved to the satisfaction of federal courts that the South made little attempt to give Negroes equality until the pressure came to bear.

There is another huge segment of Negro population that still can not comprehend all the controversy. This is an element that is still servile, as often as not tied to the soil or a community store where they never quite get out of debt.

In still another group are Negroes, including many responsible leaders, who confess the belief that integration would be a mistake.

Spokesmen for the NAACP admit privately that lethargy and outright opposition from their own race are among their most formidable problems.

Whether for or against integration, Negroes have it better today than ever in their history. Largely because of pressure, they have obtained some fine schools, even in rural areas, and have won notable civil rights victories. Their wages

are far below the white average but are rising steadily.

Least Agitation

Naturally, the least agitation for integration comes from areas that have done the most for Negroes. In Jackson, for example, the head of the NAACP, Medgar Evers, says there is no big drive for integration, "because emotions are too high."

But actually the big factor is that Jackson, under Mayor Allen C. Thompson, past president of the American Municipal Assn., has given Negroes a midas treasure of schools and recreation facilities compared to what they had a few years ago.

Jackson has built a \$750,000 Negro auditorium where singer Marian Anderson and other artists appear. Yet segregation is so rigidly enforced that whites are not allowed to attend such concerts. You hear little integration talk among Negro school people. For one thing, many Negro teachers would lose their jobs under the integrated system. At Oak Ridge, Tenn., which has integrated public schools, there is but one Negro teacher among several hundred at the high and junior high schools.

Rejected by People

In some areas Negroes backing integration have been rejected by their own people. There is an example of that in Vicksburg, Miss., the famous old "Gibraltar of the Confederacy," where three out of every five residents are Negroes.

The city had a bi-racial commission for several years. One member was George Patterson, a Negro mortician. When he signed an integration petition after the Supreme Court ruling, the commission disintegrated almost overnight and Negroes accused Patterson of "betraying" them.

One of the most outspoken Southern Negro critics of integration is J. W. Jones, a New Albany, Miss., newspaper publisher.

"It is not our color that the world

looks at with disdain but our conduct," Jones says. "We say we are snubbed and cursed by the other fellow, but the mass of our people conduct themselves in such a way that those who have acquired any degree of intelligence are made ashamed of the way we carry on some time."

Another Viewpoint

Another viewpoint comes from Kenneth Williams, Negro former city alderman at Winston-Salem, N.C., who feels that Negroes would largely forget about integration once the barriers are removed.

"Removal of restrictions is the crux of the Negro attitude," Williams says. "It is not a matter of special equality. Negroes don't want that. They just want to be treated like everybody else."

But lethargic though it is in great measure, the Negro South is stirring. And the NAACP is determined to press for full civil rights. To critics who say it is going too fast, Oliver Hill, NAACP attorney for Virginia, points out that the first civil rights cases went to the courts more than 20 years ago.

"The Negro wants to be a first class citizen in the South like everybody else," Hill says. "We are not going too fast toward that goal."

Hill said he fought during World War II in the breakthrough at St. Lo following D-Day, but "I was never more frightened than when I walked down the streets of Alexandria, Louisiana, at night."

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—New Orleans States Photo.
THE REV. EUGENE M'MANUS

Pro-Integration Priest Reports Threat on Life

An anonymous telephone caller threatened the life of a Catholic priest who took part in a panel discussion at a meeting of the Citizens Forum on Integration Tuesday night.

The Rev. Eugene McManus said the caller, a "crackpot," called him a Communist, a Negro, threatened bodily harm and warned: "I'm going to get you."

The priest received the call about noon yesterday, at St. Augustine High school, where he is a teacher. Father McManus said the caller was apparently prompted by newspaper accounts of the priest's remarks at the meeting.

'No Time, for Hatred'

Father McManus said the news accounts gave the impression that "what I said was said in a spirit of animosity."

"I did not," the priest stated. "This is no time for hatred."

Father McManus said many persons attended the pro-segregation rally at Municipal Auditorium, held simultaneously by the Citizens Council of New Orleans, out of fear.

"They are afraid if they voice their inner convictions of fair play the fury of the job will be turned against them," he said.

"And who is this mob," he asked. "Fair minded people like themselves, who have been herded together by insincere leaders who speak with more loudness than logic."

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Citizens Council At Morton Plans Member Drive

Special to State Times

MORTON—A membership drive will be staged next week by the Morton Citizens Council, when it is hoped that its membership will reach the goal set some time ago.

This was decided at a meeting of the Council, held in the Morton High School auditorium. Plans were also made for the participation of the local council in a rally of the Scott County Council to be held at the football stadium in Forest some in April.

Jack N. Stuart, president of the Morton council, presided and gave a statement of the aims, objectives and reasons for the organization. Jack Laseter, secretary, also made a report. A film "Forum Facts" was shown.

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BLASTS SUPREME COURT

**Ervin Speaks Out
On Segregation**

NEW YORK—(AP)—Sen. Sam J. Ervin (D-NC) said a system of voluntary school segregation in the South should be the answer to the U. S. Supreme Court decision on that issue.

Writing in Look Magazine, Ervin said the court's decision means "the Constitution will be reduced to a worthless scrap of paper, the American system of government will perish, and the states and their citizens will become helpless subjects of a judicial oligarchy."

He said that "racial segregation is not the offspring of racial bigotry or racial prejudice. It results from the exercise of a fundamental American freedom . . . to select one's associates."

In advocating "voluntary" segregation, Ervin said:

"It would afford moderate Southerners of both races an opportunity to solve the South's racial problem in an atmosphere of good will, patience and tolerance.

"This is the only way in which the problem can be satisfactorily solved."

The North Carolina Democrat said the current attack on racial segregation "is spearheaded mainly by three groups: well meaning outsiders unfamiliar with Southern problems, political opportunists who hanker after votes, and Negro leaders, who demand that all governmental powers be diverted from their proper functions to force the involuntary mixing of the races."

All three, he said, accuse the South of doing violence to the Constitution by questioning the segregation decision.

"These assertions leave Southern laymen somewhat bewildered," Ervin wrote. "They cannot grasp how it is that their oaths to support the Constitution compel them to accept what Chief Justice Warren and his associates said about the 14th amendment . . ."

"Whereas the oaths of Chief Justice Warren and his associates to support the Constitution permit them to reject what their judicial predecessors said on the same subject."

Ervin said the same charge of doing violence to the Constitution was leveled against Abraham Lincoln when he denounced the Dred Scott Decision, which treated a slave as piece of property, as "erroneous" . . . based in part on assumed historical facts which were not really true."

Thoughtful Southerners, Ervin said, deplore the 1954 segregation decision for two reasons:

"They know that the constitutional structure of our government is imperiled by the astounding philosophy on which the court based its ruling.

"They fear, moreover, that the harmonious race relations now existing in the South may be destroyed by the intemperate demands of those who seek immediate mixing of races in public schools."

The congressman said that "in See ERVIN, p. 17, Page 2, Col. 2

**Ervin Raps
U. S. Court**

Continued from Page 1

terfering outsiders, who weep because they think the South is cruel to its children when it segregates them on the basis of race in public schools, simply ignore the hundreds of thousands of Negro children who are actually segregated in schools in Northern cities by gerrymandered school districts embracing the ghettos where Negroes live."

Further discussing Negro segregation in the North, Ervin pointed to the employment of Negro teachers.

"North Carolina alone, with a Negro population of 1,047,353, employs 8,459 Negro school teachers—while in 12 states east of the Mississippi and north of the Mason-Dixon line, there are 3,351,402 Negroes and only 7,712 Negro teachers," he said, without naming the 12 states:

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Charlotte Observer
Charlotte, N.C.
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RE: RACIAL MATTERS

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The Washington Merry-Go-Round Byrd Masterminded the Manifesto

By Drew Pearson

THE UNTOLD STORY behind the Southern manifesto attacking the Supreme Court is that most Southern Senators signed it reluctantly. Virginia's Sen. Harry Byrd, whose cherubic face belies his political prowess, mainly inspired the document and wangled his Dixie colleagues into signing it.

Chief resistance, surprisingly, came from two outspoken conservatives—Sens. Spessard Holland of Florida and Price Daniel of Texas. They succeeded in toning down the original inflammatory language. The first draft scathingly denounced the Supreme Court's desegregation ruling as an "illegal and unconstitutional seizure of power by the nine men composing the court."

This was reduced to the simple charge that the verdict was a "clear abuse of judicial power." Other smoldering passages that were removed included such words as "flagrant and unjustified" and "invasion of (state) sovereignty."

Holland and Daniel warned that the first draft was a declaration of anarchy. They also managed at the last minute to insert a calm paragraph acknowledging majority rule.

The manifesto idea was concocted by Byrd, who had already gone out on a limb urging "passive resistance" to the Supreme Court decree. He wanted more company on the limb, so he got busy behind the scenes.

Civil War Again?

BYRD EASILY RECRUITED South Carolina's unrepentant Dixiecrat, Sen. Strom Thurmond, to be his front man. Surprisingly, two Southern moderates, John Stennis of Mississippi and Sam Ervin of North Carolina, eagerly joined Thurmond in drafting the first angry manifesto.

They quietly lined up what support they could, then presented the document as an accomplished fact to the rest of the Dixie Senators. Southerners were faced with a tacit ultimatum that they must sign it or be branded as pro-National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. With the temper of the South what it is today, the NAACP label is political poison below the Mason-Dixon line.

Alabama's Sen. Lister Hill, whose state is torn by racial strife, almost tripped over himself in his hurry to sign the manifesto. Another who wasted no time was Louisiana's Sen. Russell Long. Though both are moderates, they are running for reelection this year.

John Sparkman of Alabama hung back. So did Smathers of Florida.

Holland and Daniel, however, led the back-stage fight against the manifesto, but signed it along with the rest after watering down the language. They warned that the document, at least in its original form, challenged the Constitution itself. They also pointed out the signers could do nothing about the Supreme Court decree, short of declaring civil war again.

Pressured by Byrd, the remaining Southerners reluctantly affixed their signatures. Georgia solemn Sen. George, as dean of the Dixie bloc, unhappily acted as spokesman for the signers, though he, too, privately disapproved of such rash action.

Most Southerners who signed the manifesto admitted privately that they were only adding fuel to an explosive situation.

The only Southerners who flatly refused to sign were Kefauver and Gore of Tennessee. Lyndon Johnson of Texas also did not sign. He stated that he was not asked to do so.

Defeat for Democrats

DISGRUNTLED DEMOCRATS, who had counted their parity chickens before they hatched, are blaming their Senate leader, Lyndon Johnson, for the farm bill's defeat.

It was a case of the Republicans' 66-year-old heart patient, they say, working harder than their own 47-year-old heart patient. Mr. Eisenhower was busy on the phone lining up GOP votes for flexible supports, while Johnson was flying to Texas for rests and worrying about the natural gas fiasco. The White House even wooed away six Dixie Senators from under Johnson's nose by offering them high supports on cotton.

The White House strategy was astute and shrewd. First, a delegation of White House aides went around to break down wavering Senators. These aides warned that the President would have to veto a high-support bill and that Republicans would be putting him on the spot by voting for it. A presidential veto, they argued, would create worse publicity and antagonize the farmers even more.

On top of this, Ike put through personal phone calls to the unpersuaded Republicans and turned on the charm. The result was an overwhelming GOP vote for flexible supports.

Benson's trade with the cotton-bloc Senators was more than enough to catch the Democrats by surprise.

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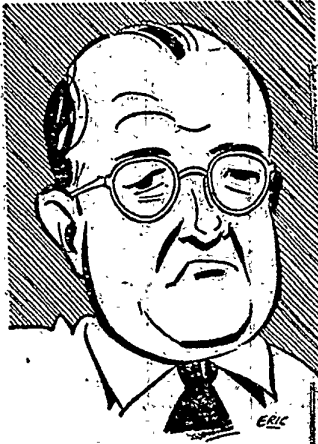
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AT HOME AND ABROAD GOOD RIDDANCE

By JAMES S. ALLEN

IN THEIR joint challenge to the Supreme Court decision on desegregation, the white supremacy Southern Congressmen are in effect threatening to enter their own third party in the 1956 elections. The White Citizens Council Democrats are now out in the open political arena. That is the reward for "moderation," for the shameful dillydallying of Stevenson and other national Democratic Party leaders on the issues of Negro rights, and then playing along with the Dixiecrat-Republican combination in Congress.

Let them go! Let them form their lily-white citizens council party, together with the Republican friends of Eastland! They can be isolated, and given a crushing defeat once the Democratic Party, rid of the encumbrance that goes back to the days of slavery, is made to respond to the aroused popular forces. The country is deeply moved by the militant and heroic fight of a united Negro people for the vote and for equal rights. It will not be the first time in our history that the issue of Negro freedom serves as the rallying point for a great popular upsurge and advance. And here we have the makings of just such an upsurge, in which the political action of labor and broad popular forces is directed against the common foe, the most reactionary forces North and South. This is the stuff from which far-reaching political realignments are fashioned, the kind that can change the traditional two-party system, the tweedledee and the tweedledum, leading toward a labor-led party, enjoying wide popular support.



EASTLAND

RIGHT NOW, much depends upon how the challenge of the White Citizens Democrats is met and first of all by the labor movement. Democracy has to be won in the South, if Dixiecrat reaction and its nationwide influences are to be eradicated. The Negro people, not only in the South but throughout the country, are moving energetically into this fight. But they cannot go it alone, nor can they risk isolation, either in the South or nationally. It is also true that labor cannot afford to lag behind in this fight, for this is a golden opportunity, in combination with the Negro people, to defeat the most vicious anti-labor and anti-democratic forces in the nation, and to carry the South for unionism.

The White Citizens Council are just as anti-labor as they are anti-Negro. Since the Populist upsurge of the 1890's, the supremacy doctrine has always been the favorite weapon of the big landowners of the South and of the corporations against the

white workers and farmers, as well as the Negro. With it, they have split every popular movement in the South, and then put the white masses in "their place" as well as the Negro.

During the Reconstruction Days and the Populist revolt, the organizers of white-supremacy reaction were chiefly the plantation owners. Today, because of big changes in the economy of the South, the leading role in the White Citizens Councils is played by the big employers, by the industrial and utility corporations, who want to maintain a "cheap labor" South, whether that labor be white or Negro. They are joined, very aggressively, by the large landowners and their political hangers-on, who are attempting, desperately to hold on to their weakening economic and political footholds in the Southern states.

THE DESEGREGATION issue is a real one, and it has assumed a dramatic and pivotal role in the battle of the Negro for equal rights in all spheres. Southern reaction is opposing it on that score, just as it is fighting with no holds barred against the heroic effort of the Negro to win the right to vote. For once these rights are won the entire political picture of the South will change.

At the same time, the White Citizens Councils are deliberately using the desegregation issue to confuse, blind, and scatter the forces of white labor in the South, in a great effort to divert them from the task of organizing Southern industry, which they must do together with the Negro.

Make no mistake about it—these Councils are intended to prevent the gathering of Negro and white forces for the great organization drive announced by the AFL-CIO, a drive long aborning too long. Let that drive once begin, and the true nature of the White Citizens Councils, as both anti-labor and anti-Negro, will be exposed for all to

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HERE AND ABROAD

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 see, even the most prejudiced of Southern white labor. Once that drive begins, the two great allies that can bring democracy to the South will be in full motion. The coalition will be in action that can defeat the Dixiecrats in their home territory, and in doing so transform the national political scene.

*
 THE ORGANIZED labor movement has it within its pow-

er today to give a resounding defeat to the Dixiecrats and thereby play a deserved leading role in the Democratic Party, bringing it closer to the popular forces, advancing the political realignment that will make it possible for labor and its allies to exert their proper initiative in national politics. Let the Dixiecrats go, and let labor initiate the organization drive that can result in a meaningful Democratic victory come November.

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Moderates Hold Hope of South

Editor's Note: Another in the series of dispatches by the United Press Atlanta bureau chief on the segregation issue.

By AL KUETTNER
United Press Staff Correspondent
OXFORD, Miss. (UP) — Let's slow down for a few minutes and hear the white South's viewpoint on segregation.

The average white Southerner is a law-abiding individual to whom violence is repugnant. He doesn't want to be in the position of defying the Supreme Court. He is as sorry as other Americans if the controversy over the Negro's place in society is casting his country in a bad light around the world.

But he is accustomed since childhood to separation of Negroes and whites in his community. He has come to believe it hasn't worked too badly. The Negroes themselves have been content for the most part, he thinks. The North is mistaken if it pictures all the South's colored people as straining to intermix.

Dread of Mixed Marriages
He has a dread of one of his children marrying a Negro. He thinks almost all Northern parents would feel the same. But he feels that will be the outcome if Negro and white children begin mixing freely in the classrooms, the playgrounds, the swimming pools, the high school dances.

He knows that in many places, particularly rural areas, the Negroes are so poorly educated they are not prepared for leadership. Yet in many places so vastly do Negroes outnumber whites that with real equality at the polls, Negroes would occupy all offices.

He is trying to make up his mind how to proceed. The opinions of his friends and neighbors influence him mightily. Should he get the tag of "nigger-lover," it may ostracize him socially and ruin him economically.

Search for Solution
He wants a sensible solution, an end to this struggle. Where can he turn for organized leadership? He has a choice of the white

Citizens' Councils that stand for preserving strict segregation at all costs and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People which wants integration now.

The majority of the South's people can't conscientiously endorse either. They believe that somewhere between the extremes lies the answer to the nation's biggest social issue since the Civil War.

Let's listen to famed novelist William Faulkner. Faulkner is emerging as a spokesman for the "moderates." This correspondent talked with him at his picturesque colonial home here in Oxford.

Need of Moderation
"The need of the South today is an organization with aims that lie somewhere between the NAACP and the Citizens Councils," says Faulkner.

"Such a group would provide the impetus for bi-racial commissions representing the best of both races. Perhaps in time such a moderate movement could take members away from the NAACP on one side and the Councils on the other."

That phrase "in time" is important. Faulkner fears there is real danger of bloodshed should integration be forced on the South. "A few of us realize that segregation is going," he says, but the job should be accomplished by choice from within the south.

Danger of Shooting
"Moderates only hope they can keep outside forces from bringing

friction to the fighting point. And, believe me, there is real danger the situation may reach the shooting stage at some points."

Faulkner blames much of the current problem on "the failure of the press and the churches to speak out earlier. They are the voices of authority to which the people usually listen and they are silent."

Faulkner contends that another difficulty is the "unhappy choice" of the term integration.

"In my opinion," he says, "the opposite of segregation is not integration but equality. Integration would take care of itself if the Negroes had real equality."

Disagrees with Carter
Faulkner disagrees with Editor Hodding Carter of Greenville, Miss., who feels that the gradual migration of Negroes from the South will eventually help the situation by redistribution of the population.

"Negroes who leave the South merely transfer the problem rather than cure it," Faulkner says. "I'm afraid the North would be a great deal more impatient with the Negroes than we are."

Faulkner's is one of the few influential moderate voices being heard on the race question. One of the reasons for silence from this group is the fear of criticism, rebuke or reprisal.

Gov. Clement's Moderation
Gov. Frank Clement of Tennessee has appealed for a moderate approach.

"The greatest danger we face in the South today is the possibility of extremists and agitators from either side gaining control, either through law or politics," Clement said. "Our people are good people, and when left alone, can and will work out any problem."

There have been some concrete examples of progress with the "moderate" approach.

In Cross-Fire
In Nashville, Tenn., 26 civic groups tackled the problem at individual study sessions. They wrote separate reports on their findings. A majority emerged with a recommendation to comply with court orders and integrate schools.

But like most of the middle-of-the-roads, the "moderates" are catching it from both sides.

Both the Citizens' Councils and the NAACP are attacking them as "fence straddlers" who are waiting to see which way the majority is going before jumping that way.

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Councils Are Mushrooming

Editor's Note: This is another dispatch on the issues in the desegregation controversy by the Atlanta bureau chief of United Press, who is on a tour of the Southern states mainly affected.

By AL KUETTNER

United Press Staff Correspondent INDIANOLA, Miss. (UP)—Fourteen worried men met in this Mississippi Delta town one July night in 1954, seeking a way to preserve the South's traditional separation of its white and Negro people.

They were confronted with a ruling of the highest court in the land that they must bring their children together with Negro children in the schools.

Rushing to put that ruling into reality was a vocal and well-financed organization, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

The great majority of Southern whites were dead set against such school integration. But they had no organization to glue them together, to act in concert to prevent and delay integration.

Before Dave Hawkins' guests left that night, they had such an organization. Because none of the 14 could think of a more fitting name, they decided to call it the "White Citizens' Councils."

Over Half-Million

In the less than two years of the WCC's life, it has become the most potent pro-segregation agency in Dixie. Conservative estimates put its total membership at well over half a million, but no one can say for sure because it swells by the hundreds daily.

It is the exact antithesis of the NAACP which seeks to break down racial barriers wherever they are found. The Citizens' Councils battle to keep those barriers up. It professes neither political nor economic power but possesses both to a marked degree.

Robert Patterson, one of the founders and now executive secretary

of the Mississippi councils, told this correspondent that "the movement has exceeded our wildest dreams."

Patterson estimates the councils have between 80,000 and 100,000 members in Mississippi alone. Other states where they are strongest are Alabama, Louisiana, South Carolina and Georgia.

Along the organizing route the WCC has been accused of taking on the cloak of the old Ku Klux Klan and of wielding economic boycotts against Negroes working for integration.

The councils undoubtedly have present or former Klansmen on their rolls, plus other elements not averse to force as a means of preserving segregation. But the bulk of the membership appears to be a cross-section of white Southerners, ranging from governors and legislators to street sweepers, from mechanics to bankers.

"Education Group"

Just what is this citizens' council?

A typical unit in a small Mississippi town might have from 20 to 100 members. The mayor, the chief of police, the town lawyers, the bankers and most of the merchants probably are members. The local chapter sends \$1 per member to state headquarters for operational expenses. Individual dues range from \$3 to \$5 a year.

Called Education Group

Patterson defines the WCC as an "education group." He defends it against accusations that it uses such weapons as economic boycotts. But he acknowledges that individuals might employ such tactics.

"Our only purpose is to educate the people," Patterson says. "We publish and distribute literature about the NAACP, for example. We never advocate use of economic boycotts against anyone. But we also would never condemn an individual who used his freedom of choice concerning an employe or a customer after reading the truth we give him about the NAACP."

Patterson, who has a plantation where 25 Negro families live and work, devotes all his time to coun-

work. From his office in Greenwood near here, a secretarial staff mails thousands of pamphlets all over the South and to such other states as New York, Ohio, California and Colorado.

Making Friends

"We are making friends everywhere," Patterson says. "Most

people in the North are no more interested in forcing integration on the South than most Southerners want to force segregation on the North."

The WCC wields a big stick in the South these days through its influence on politics.

W. J. Simmons, head of the Jackson, Miss., council which has 187 of the city's lawyers on its lists, says the organization is not interested in direct politics.

"But it is our business to keep the public informed about what the politicians are saying and doing," Simmons said. "When an officeholder starts talking of voting for integration, we let the people know what's going on."

Council's Power

Patterson credits the council with marshalling the vote in Mississippi to push through a constitutional amendment to raise voter qualifications. It had failed in 1952. The council also campaigned successfully for an amendment giving the Legislature power to abolish Mississippi public schools, if necessary to preserve segregation.

The WCC has pretty well stifled voices of opposition. Middle-of-the-roads in Southern communities fear reprisals in the way of social or business boycott. Most office holders are very cagey about being quoted on the segregation issue unless they are 100 per cent for the WCC platform.

"The council was the only means the South had of expressing public sentiment," Patterson says. "That's the reason we have been so successful."

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Mississippi Racist Complains the 'Worker' is Unkii

VIRGINIA GARDNER
 What The Sunday Worker
 did about W. J. Simmons,
 administrator of the white
 Mississippi Association of Citi-
 zens' Councils, recently be-
 came page one news in Jackson.
 Simmons called in reporters,
 displayed a Sunday Worker of
 Feb. 12 and issued a statement,
 which the Clarion-Ledger featured
 as its lead story in its Feb. 16 is-
 sue.
 The Worker story told in ad-
 vance of an interview with Sim-

mons to be printed in the Negro
 History edition of The Worker
 Feb. 19. It said a Worker re-
 porter was seated in Simmons' of-
 fice "when he discussed over the
 phone with an unnamed Alabama
 caller the U.S. District Court or-
 der that Negroes must now be
 admitted to the University of Ala-
 bama."
 Simmons in his statement, to
 which the Clarion-Ledger, which
 is jointly owned with the Jackson
 Daily News, devoted more than a
 column of space, said:
 "Here we have Communists on

our very doorstep fanning the
 flames of racial hatred and inter-
 nal strife."
 But, although Simmons claim-
 ed the reporter was waiting "out-
 side in the reception office" when
 a long distance phone call came in
 from "a gentleman in Birming-
 ham, Ala.," and that the reporter
 resorted to "plain old - fashioned
 eavesdropping," he did not deny
 the truth of the report.
 Actually the reporter was seat-
 ed directly across the desk from
 Simmons in his own office when
 the call came through, and could

not avoid hearing his remarks. But
 in his statement as published in
 the Clarion-Ledger he did not deny
 that he said what the Worker
 attributed to him.
'FRANKNESS'
 Simmons in his statement re-
 leased to Jackson reporters said
 "The Citizens' Council has always
 followed a policy of complete
 frankness with the press."
 If he is so frank, let him deny
 that he told his phone caller from
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Communist Complains the 'Worker' is Unkind

be printed in the Negro edition of The Worker. It said a Worker reporter seated in Simmons' office discussed over the phone an unnamed Alabama U.S. District Court or Negroes must now be to the University of Ala-

our very doorstep fanning the flames of racial hatred and internal strife." But, although Simmons claimed the reporter was waiting outside in the reception office when a long distance phone call came in from a gentleman in Birmingham, Ala., and that the reporter resorted to "plain old-fashioned eavesdropping," he did not deny the truth of the report. Actually the reporter was seated directly across the desk from Simmons in his own office when the call came through, and could

not avoid hearing his remarks. But in his statement as published in the Clarion-Ledger he did not deny that he said what the Worker attributed to him. "FRANKNESS" Simmons in his statement released to Jackson reporters said "The Citizens Council has always followed a policy of complete frankness with the press." "If he is so frank, let him deny that he told his phone caller from Alabama as related in the Feb. 19 Worker and somewhat elliptically told in the Feb. 12 Worker

to tell them at the legislature that they should order that dean not to answer the court summons. They could do it in the name of the safety of his person and the school, he said. And let him deny, if he is frank, that he was gleeful that his caller was organizing in that part of Alabama, as quoted in the Jackson Clarion-Ledger from The Worker. And that he told him, as appeared in my story of Feb. 19, that he should tell them at the legislature that they should form

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a legislative committee under their interposition resolution, and "stand in the dean's place."

Nor can he deny if he is frank, his parting directive to his caller. "And have 'em [the legislature] tell him to kick that n----- woman out."

MORE THAN 'DELAY'

(That was on Feb. 3, when Jackson papers carried a story that a university official was ordered to appear in a federal district court on an order to show cause why he should not be held in contempt for failure to admit another Negro woman. The same story told of Autherine Lucy's being refused dormitory quarters.)

I still have my penciled notes of the interview. If Simmons is so frank, then perhaps he will be frank enough to admit that at the end of the phone interview with his Alabama caller, he turned to me and said with a smile: "That's the way it is. A network—all over the South."

He was indeed frank in his remarks with me—even frank about press coverage. His remarks on the press are of special interest now, two days after the New York Times, in its page one story on its eight-page supplement on the progress of integration in the schools, said that "generally" white Southerners were found to be "seeking adjustment" but wanting to "delay or moderate the impact of segregation."

Simmons, in his remarks to me, clearly indicated that was not the policy of the White Citizens Councils over the South.

While he modestly stated, "We've sort of waked up the Southern press," he complained that Time, Life and other magazines "while they're showing more respect for the Citizens Councils, still keep saying we're working to 'delay' integration."

He was downright annoyed by their persistent use of the word "delay," and said he intended to write to some of their editors "that they should change that word 'delay' to 'prevent'."

In his statement as used in the Clarion-Ledger on the Sunday Worker story (which he did not quote, but which the Clarion-Ledger did quote, including Simmons' final admonition to "kick that n----- woman out"), Simmons said:

"Do our people in Mississippi need to be shown more clearly who is behind the vicious hate campaign now being waged against our State and against the South?"

Since he is talking about hate, and since he is so frank, let him deny that when I asked about the big tax problem they faced if they were going to continue building separate Negro schools, he told me:

"Some people are just for abolishing public schools. I don't think it really will be necessary. If the legislatures will enforce the interposition resolutions, but if not, we may come to it. It would mean letting the white people send their kids to private schools, and letting the n----- shift for themselves."

Takes Steps For Forming Citizens Council In City

Based on an announced theme "Keep the Riffraff and Radicals Out," a large number of interested Meridianites and Lauderdale countians activated a general plan to organize a "Citizens Council" in Meridian, at a meeting held in Lauderdale county courthouse Tuesday night.

Principal speaker for the meeting was Circuit Judge Tom P. Brady of Brookhaven, prominent in the Citizens Council movement in Mississippi. Henry W. Odom, commander of the T. C. Carter, Jr., Post of the American Legion, served as acting chairman. The session was opened with prayer by the Rev. William V. Miller, pastor of Bible Baptist Church and was closed with prayer by the Rev. Frank DeLabar.

Announced purpose of the meeting was to prevent by any all lawful means the desegregation of the white and colored races in the South, as ordered by the U. S. Supreme Court and to support in all ways possible the "Manifesto of Principle" told to the Congress by virtually all Southern senators and congressmen on Monday of this week.

Development of the Citizens Council

Takes Steps For

(Continued From Page One)

oil movement in Southern states was pictured by Judge Brady as follows: South Carolina, 50,000 members; Virginia, 40,000 members; Louisiana, between 40 and 45 thousand; and some 50,000 in Texas.

Mississippi Shows Lead
Mississippi, he pointed out, holds a wide margin of leadership with more than 80,000 approved members.

In connection with the Meridian plan of organization, Judge Brady told his listeners that every applicant should be carefully screened and that at all costs riffraff and radicals should not be included. He declared the desegregation

MERIDIAN STAR
MERIDIAN, MISS.

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plan is one calculated in the long run to Communize America and that the basic method to obtain this objective is by and through destruction of the sovereignty of the 48 states.

He took the position the decision of the Supreme Court re segregation also "was a blessing in disguise" in that it waked the people of the South to their peril. "The Supreme Court misjudged the people," he added.

The jurist said the country is in the midst of a political and social revolution, one calculated to make a totalitarian government of the United States, a plan starting "from the top down." He confessed that the problem engendered by the desegregation decision is "insoluble in our lifetimes."

Plan Next Meeting

Acting Chairman O'Dom announced the formal organization meeting will be held Thursday, March 22, at Lauderdale county courthouse. A number of applications, however, were accepted before final adjournment. Some three to four hundred persons were present.

Judge Brady repeatedly made it clear that before any sort of totalitarian government can be set up in the United States "the sovereignty of the 48 states must be destroyed." He said further that any all trends in this direction are directly based on the philosophies of Marx.

He listed a series of steps whereby the federal government has gradually usurped the several powers of the 48 states.

One—The removal of the rights of the states to levy taxes. At this juncture, he pointed out the willingness of the states to accept federal handouts, adding "we are losing the most sacred rights our states can have." He charged that passage of the nation's first income tax, an emergency of World War I, was done without constitutional authority.

Two—Extension of federal powers through the judiciary over interstate and foreign commerce.

Varied Government Theories
At this point, Brady compared the conflict in theories of government as voiced by Jefferson and Hamilton.

Three—Government seizure of military congressional acts and judicial interpretations.

He lashed out at welfare programs of the government, adding such programs are being sponsored all over the world in violation of the constitution.

He declared the Supreme Court desegregation decision on May 17, 1954, is nothing short of a move to deprive the states of virtually all their basic rights-powers. He described May 17 as "Black Monday" but said "Black Monday may be the greatest blessing in disguise we have ever known. It has finally alerted and awakened 50,000 citizens of the South that their sovereign rights have been taken away."

He then declared that the court

dict, in and of itself, will not change the segregated pattern of the South.

Urges Race Understanding

Brady made it clear that it is his belief the "true Southern Negro" has had nothing to do with the desegregation movement and urged "understanding" between the races for the benefit of both.

"Let us not be caught up in this flame of hate," he said in discussing the formation of the Citizens Council in Meridian and elsewhere.

He also decried extension of propaganda into the nation's churches and schools.

"There are 17 card-bearing communist professors at Harvard alone. When a church leaves the principle of Christianity, it is a sick church."

He charged that some 47 leaders of NAACP are Communist-affiliated. "We know who they are and at the proper time, they will be asked to explain."

He made the open charge that the NAACP and other type groups now are out to "destroy Senator Jim Eastland" because of his stands on the segregation question.

"The NAACP," he continued, "tells both parties what they shall have in their planks," adding the "NAACP is merely using the Negro for selfish purpose and cares nothing for him, or for his welfare."

As for the Citizens Council movement, he said this is a "John Doe movement, your movement, your movement to save the rights of the states."

Asks About Schools

Just before adjournment, John G. Atwood, Sr., of Highway 45 south, questioned Judge Brady as to whether or not "we in the South have done our share in creating equal school facilities for Negroes?"

Judge Brady said it was his opinion "we have not done as much as we could have."

Judge Brady in his speech said that in past years uncounted thousands of Negroes were moved beyond the Mason-Dixon line for block-voting purposes against Southern interests.

Atwood wanted to know if many Southern whites also hadn't gone north and done the same thing?

Judge Brady said he didn't have such information at hand but it could be obtained.

Atwood was heckled by several in the audience and at this point an adjournment was taken.

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GENERAL CITIZENS COUNCILS AND STATES RIGHTS MOVEMENTS -

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Integration Ruling

When a Supreme Court decision meets with widespread opposition at grass roots level, there should be some plainly marked avenue of appeal which can take the matter absolutely out of the realm of politics and put it in the hands of the people where it belongs.

State Senator Donovan of Fairfax, Va. has a reasonable suggestion in his bill which would give any five States the right to appeal a Supreme Court decision by meeting in convention and proposing a constitutional amendment to be acted upon by the various States.

If the Supreme Court cannot compel a State to educate its children, how can it go into a State and regulate the educational system that does exist?

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WHITE CITIZENS FLUNK VOTE TEST

Louisiana Registrar Now Applies the Law

MINDEN, La., March 8 (IP)—A woman registrar disclosed today that her compliance with White Citizens Council demands for strict enforcement of voter qualification laws has flunked 24 white applicants.

Mrs. Winnice P. Clement, 56-year-old widow, said the two dozen white applicants for vote registration were unable to interpret the U. S. Constitution as required by state law.

The rise in Negro voting power to some 2000, against 12,000 white voters in Webster Parish recently made Mrs. Clement the target of protests by pro-segregation citizens' councils.

PAST PERFORMANCE

Mrs. Clement said she had previously followed the custom of passing all seemingly literate applicants without test.

"But now that I'm enforcing the law maybe they'll be satisfied," she said.

Louisiana's voting laws, like those of other states which once tried to secede from the union, are based upon a determination to prevent Negroes from voting.

Negroes in Louisiana began seeking voting rights in sizeable numbers in 1952. Their voting power, now at 155,000, became an issue of a gubernatorial primary last month.

Mrs. Clement, registrar since 1940, said that since the custom was to register whites without tests she permitted Negroes to register similarly.

The citizens' councils bombarded Gov. Robert Kennon with protests. The Webster Parish police jury (administrative body) sent Gov. Kennon a resolution asking that Mrs. Clement be investigated.

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South's Senators Debate Mixed School 'Manifesto'

Southern Senators debated for several hours today the draft of a "manifesto" they expect to issue on possible moves to counteract the Supreme Court's decision against public school racial segregation.

They met for three hours this morning in the office of Senator George, Democrat of Georgia, and returned for another session late this afternoon.

Senator Russell, Democrat of Georgia, chairman of a committee chosen by the group at a similar closed session a month ago, used the word "manifesto" in telling reporters that a formal statement probably would be issued early next week.

Meanwhile, he and the other 15 Southern Senators at today's meeting disclosed only that there had been considerable debate and revision on a tentative report submitted by the committee.

The committee's task was to report on conditions and sentiment in the Southern States resulting from the Supreme Court's mandate for racial integration in schools. Besides providing a survey of that situation, the report also was under-

stood to outline possible action which the Southern Senators might take to help in their section's opposition to integration moves.

It was learned, however, the Senators today differed among themselves not only on the working of the proposed public statement but also concerning its scope. Some of the Senators stated that the Southern States themselves have not acted uniformly on the subject of public school integration. A few States have taken official action either through their legislatures or in statements by their Governors. Others have taken no official stand in opposition to integration moves.

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Today and Tomorrow • • By Walter Lippmann

Mr. Faulkner's Letter

LIFE MAGAZINE published a letter addressed to the people of the Northern states by William Faulkner, the eminent novelist. Mr. Faulkner is a native of Mississippi. He speaks as a Southerner who not only believes in the simple incontrovertible immorality of discrimination by race but also that this discrimination is an evil which will be cured eventually by the Southerners themselves. The point of his letter is to warn Northerners that discrimination will not be cured, in fact become still sharper, if legal coercion is used to enforce the Supreme Court's decision.



Lippmann

Mr. Faulkner, as a Southerner who is opposed in principle both to segregation and to enforced integration, regards his position as being in the "middle." He sees himself as pressed from two sides, between the Citizens Councils on the one hand, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People on the other. He is between those who would uphold "white supremacy" by nullification of the Supreme Court's decision and those who would use the Federal power to abolish segregation. Where, he asks, will Southerners like himself go if Federal enforcement is attempted? They will go, so he says in effect, with the resistance of the Citizens Councils.

THE BURDEN of Mr. Faulkner's plea is that the Northerners should not now press for

Federal enforcement. For this would make it impossible for Southerners like himself to work for the gradual acceptance of integration.

To this there is something which must be said for the Northerners who will understand and sympathize with Mr. Faulkner's argument. These Northerners include the President and Governor Stevenson, and they are quite surely a majority today. But their position is threatened by the Southern extremists who not only proclaim the doctrine of nullification but, as in the Lucy case in Alabama, connive at mob violence.

For the moderate Northerners, it is impossible to accept the gradualism that Mr. Faulkner advises if at the same time they have to acquiesce in what happened at Alabama University. To do so would be to surrender two elementary principles. One is, as Mr. Faulkner defines it, that discrimination by race is immoral. The other is that the laws of the Union bind all who live within the Union. To acquiesce and not to protest would make the middle position unprincipled and in the end untenable.

THE SITUATION is one in which all the strong passions tend to run to the two irreconcilable extremes—towards the fierce defense in the Deep South of the white way of life, towards a militant demand by the Negroes and their friends for the vindication of their indubitable human rights.

There is little reason to believe that the issue can now be dealt with in the South as it was after the Civil War—by nullification with the assent of the North. There is a new dynamic factor in the sit-

uation today—the rise of the American Negro to a position of very considerable economic and political power.

We have seen the first beginnings of what this may bring in the boycott in Montgomery. There the Negro population have practiced passive resistance—that classic tactic of weak and subject peoples. There is every reason to suppose that uncompromising and militant resistance by the Citizens Councils in the Deep South will—if it closes the door to gradual reform—cause the Montgomery example to spread.

YET WE CAN have no great hope that mutual warnings like Mr. Faulkner's and mine, that these pious exhortations to reason and moderation, will in themselves be heeded. The basic weakness of the middle position is that it does not now, that it does not as yet, represent a practical and concrete program on which men of moderate temper have agreed to unite. Mr. Faulkner says "Go slow now." But how slowly can we go without nullifying the Constitution? Northerners say, "Take your time but show good faith." But what would be enough compliance to prove good faith?

The Supreme Court has accepted the responsibility of judging these questions as they are presented to the Federal Court. But what seems to be missing is a consensus of enlightened opinion as to what issues it is necessary and wise to present to the Court and in what order. For the formation of such a consensus it may prove necessary to call upon the President for leadership.

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Aultman Heads Covington Co. Citizens Group

Special to State Times
SEMINARY — Bill Aultman, a former mayor of the town of Seminary, has been elected chairman of the first Citizens Council in Covington county.
 Other officers elected include Arthur Moore, vice-chairman; Lawrence Hemefer, treasurer, and Johnny Metcalf, O. L. Lott, Earl Drennan, Earl Clark, Harvey Lott, Bruce Williams, Lavelle Shoemate, Lonnie Aultman, Sharp Grantham, Ansey Crawford and H. B. Knight, board of directors.
 Circuit Judge M. M. McGowan of Jackson addressed the organizational meeting.

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How to Bar Integration Divides Alabama Citizens

By JAMES Y. NEWTON
Star Staff Correspondent

BIRMINGHAM, Ala., Mar. 5.—A sharp conflict was disclosed today among segregationist groups in this Deep South center of racial strife. Differences over policies and methods for maintaining separation of races are involved.

Divided into two camps were Alabama's mushrooming white Citizens Councils. Both the Association of Citizens Councils of Alabama and the North Alabama Citizens' Council are dedicated to maintaining segregation. But there are wide differences between the groups over how far they should go to attain the objective and a split over membership eligibility involving the issue of anti-Semitism.

Today, meanwhile, was the deadline set by the Federal District Court for readmission to classes at the nearby University of Alabama of Autherine J. Lucy, 26-year-old Negro who was driven from the campus a month ago by mob action.

No Indication She'll Appear
There was no indication, however, that Miss Lucy, last reported in Washington, would appear in Tuscaloosa. Shortly after the court ordered the university to readmit Miss Lucy, who had been suspended for safety reasons, she was expelled for disciplinary reasons by the board of trustees. Basis for the action was what was described as "outrageous" and unsubstantiated charges made by the coded that school officials has con-

spired in the mob move against her. The legal status of Miss Lucy's 3 1/2-year battle to study library science at Alabama was unclear. Neither the girl's attorney, Arthur D. Shores, nor lawyers for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, who have been aiding her, have said whether they would contest the expulsion in court.

Responsible citizens of the area have warned that popular feeling in Tuscaloosa is so intense that Miss Lucy might be killed if she attempted to resume her studies. The trial in Tuscaloosa's Records Court of three young construction workmen, arrested for disorderly conduct the day Miss Lucy was driven from the campus, was postponed to a later and undetermined date. Trial of the three, each of whom has filed a \$1 million damage suit against Miss Lucy and the NAACP, had been set for today before Judge Joe G. Burns.

As for the division in the ranks
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How to Bar Integration Divides Alabama Citizens

Continued From First Page of the segregationist groups, the Association of Citizens Councils of Alabama is the older and larger, including members from throughout the State. Its approach to the powder-keg problem of race relations is, according to its officers, much more moderate than that of the North Alabama rival.

The chairman of the Alabama association, Dr. John Whitley, an elderly druggist of nearby Tarrant City, says his organization is dedicated to fight integration of the races "by every legal means," but he said there was no thought of going beyond that.

"Our plan is to maintain segregation through influence of the voters on the politicians," Dr. Whitley told The Star.

This drive to "influence" the politicians is apparently over-producing in some respects. Dr. Whitley and other segregationist leaders have described as "crazy" a resolution passed unanimously by the State Senate to move Negroes to the Midwest and North.

"Our constitution states," Dr. Whitley continued, "that 'This association is dedicated to the maintenance of peace, good order and domestic tranquility in our communities and in our State and to the preservation of States' rights, and we are set up to do nothing more than that.'"

Ace Carter, youthful executive secretary and only officer of the North Alabama Citizens' Council, said his outfit, too, was using only "legal means" in the fight to preserve segregation.

"What if 'legal means' fail?" this reporter asked Mr. Carter.

Firm on Stand

He didn't know what would be done in that eventuality, but he added, race integration would never take place in Alabama. In other remarks Mr. Carter has hinted that it might become necessary for white citizens to use force to preserve the South's traditional society.

Mr. Carter and Dr. Whitley last November set about jointly to organize the White Citizens of Northern Alabama. There were citizens councils already established in neighboring Mississippi and downstate, but none in North Alabama.

The drive made little headway until Miss Lucy was admitted to the State University February 2. Then the white people began flocking to the Carter-Whitley office. Subsequently, a decision had to be made as to eligibility and method of achieving the goal desired by both. It was then the split came, and Dr. Whitley organized the other councils of the State into the Alabama association. He says the scores of councils affiliated with him are autonomous and that the asso-

known elected representatives of Alabama as "too radical," including Gov. James (Big Jim) Folsom, Senators Sparkman and Hill, and various Alabama members of the House.

Ace Carter, real name Asa, talked freely for the most part, during an interview. He seemed nervous, although he is obviously of a phlegmatic temperament.

Mr. Carter's three-room suite in a downtown office building, was a busy place although it was Sunday. Callers were frequent and the phone jingled every minute. A younger brother helped out.

"Which council are you from?" Mr. Carter, husky and dark-complexioned, asked as he greeted me with a handclasp.

"I'm not from any council," I replied, "I am from The Washington Star."

"Is that the paper Fulton Lewis is always talking about on the radio?" asked Mr. Carter.

"Probably not," I said.

Veteran of Pacific War

Mr. Carter said he was 30, born in the small town of Oxford, Ala., 60 miles east. He finished Calhoun County High, enlisted in the Navy at 17 and served in World War II three years in the Pacific—Philippines re-conquest and Okinawa—as a radioman. He was discharged in 1946 and went to the University of Colorado because he had trained there for the Navy. He was graduated in 1949, with a degree in political science and journalism. He went to work as newscaster for a radio station in Yazoo City, Miss., moved to radio in Anniston, Ala., then to a radio job in Denver, and back to Birmingham in 1953. His last radio job was as commentator for the American States Rights Association, a segregationist group which now does research for Dr. Whitley's councils. Mr. Carter said he resigned as commentator over policy differences with the States Rights Association president, Olin Horton.

Mr. Carter said he had organized 50 citizens' councils, 5 in the last few days, and that his association had between 60,000 and 75,000 members.

His organization, he said, stood "for segregation and to forward the movement to decentralize Federal Government power. Reaffirmation of the rights of States—assertion by the States of their right to govern themselves."

Opposes 3-Way System

"We," Mr. Carter added on the subject of segregation, "have no intention of accepting evasion or circumvention on this thing from the politicians of the South. We will not accept such so-called cures, for example, as the three-way school system

The reference was to approval by the Alabama Legislature

which was put forward as a possible answer to the Supreme Court decision outlawing segregation.

"We intend to keep the present school system," he continued, "and to keep it segregated. Any other formula would be a surrender to Federal power."

"This can be done only by people retaining control at the grass roots—a control that will force the politicians either out of office or into a position of absolute defiance of the Supreme Court edict. Centralization (of power) is destroying the American way of life. The issue must be met now."

NAACP "Fanaticism" Hit

Mr. Carter said the racial situation in Alabama is "dangerous in the sense that the NAACP, through its fanaticism, is goading the white people of the South to unplanned action."

The council's leader said he was opposed to Gov. Folsom's plan to set up an interracial commission to devise ways of easing tensions. The Governor's plan, he added, was to pack the commission with newspaper editors who would agree to "play down" the future actions of the NAACP.

"That would not be a good thing," Mr. Carter commented, "because if a murderer is at your door you want to know about it. The NAACP is a murderer of our American system. They make use of all of the Negro's shortcomings, instead of trying to improve the Negro."

The Negroes' lot, Mr. Carter said, had improved over the years, but he "never had been able to realize that it requires responsibility to maintain free government—never been able to live up to that responsibility." But he said he favored full education of Negroes and equal pay for equal work for them.

Mr. Carter added that segregation "must be maintained at any cost."

Voted for MacArthur in '52

He said neither President Eisenhower nor Adlai Stevenson, was acceptable to him as a presidential candidate in 1952 and that he wrote in the name of Gen. Douglas MacArthur.

Mr. Carter now operates a filling station in Birmingham, and he said he receives no part of the \$3 a year dues paid in by his thousands of members.

Hill Ferguson of Birmingham, a member of the Alabama university board of trustees, was another approached (by telephone) on the race situation.

"You Yankees," began Mr. Ferguson, "are getting just what you want."

"But I am a Virginian, suh," I interjected, not thinking at the moment he was serious.

"It is a rotten, rotten situation," Mr. Ferguson went right along. You Yankees are doing everything you can to stuff the Negroes down our throats and we are not going to take it if we can help it.

"It is just one holy mess. As long as the courts shove this down our throats we love just

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and domestic tranquility in our communities and in our State and to the preservation of States' rights, and we are set up to do nothing more than that."

Ace Carter, youthful executive secretary and only officer of the North Alabama Citizens' Council, said his outfit, too, was using only "legal means" in the fight to preserve segregation.

"What if 'legal means' fail?" this reporter asked Mr. Carter.

Firm on Stand

He didn't know what would be done in that eventuality, but, he added, race integration would never take place in Alabama. In other remarks Mr. Carter has hinted that it might become necessary for white citizens to use force to preserve the South's traditional society.

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Constitutions Differ

The constitution of the North Alabama Citizens' Council, among other things, bars Jews from membership, one point of the differences between Mr. Carter and Dr. Whitley. The constitution states:

"No one shall be denied membership provided he or she meets the following qualifications:

- "A. White.
- "B. Segregationist.
- "C. Belief in the divinity of Jesus Christ.

"We will admit anyone who is for segregation," Dr. Whitley said. "And that includes Jews, CIO, Catholics, Ku-Kluxers—anyone."

The North Alabama Council constitution also includes this provision:

"Ace Carter, the present executive secretary of the North Alabama Citizens' Council, shall occupy that office on a permanent basis for a term of one year, expiration date of his tenure to be December 31, 1956."

Support Grows Fast

While Mr. Carter is regarded as "dangerous" by both the liberal whites who favor compliance with the Supreme Court decisions ending segregation and by many other citizens who are segregationists, his following had been growing by leaps and bounds.

He regards all of the better

years in the Pacific—Philippines, re-conquest and Okinawa—as a radioman. He was discharged in 1946 and went to the University of Colorado because he had trained there for the Navy. He was graduated in 1949, with a degree in political science and journalism. He went to work as newscaster for a radio station in Yazoo City, Miss., moved to radio in Anniston, Ala., then to a radio job in Denver, and back to Birmingham in 1953. His last radio job was as commentator for the American States Rights Association, a segregationist group which now does research for Dr. Whitley's councils. Mr. Carter said he resigned as commentator over policy differences with the States Rights Association president, Olin Horton.

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"It is just one holy mess. As long as the courts shove this down our throats we are just going to have serious trouble and lots of it."

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105-34237

Massachusetts House To Join Terror Protest

BOSTON, Mass., March 4.—The Massachusetts House of Representatives voted to declare March 28 "Brotherhood Day." The resolution passed without debate, provides for the legislature to cease all legislative activities from 11 a.m. to noon on March 28 as an expression of sympathy for the Negro citizens of Alabama.

and protest in behalf of the Alabama victims of Dixiecrat terror.

Sponsored by Reps. James L. O'Dea, Democrat, of Lowell, and Harold Putnam, Republican, of Needham, it was adopted by the legislature Thursday.

This is the first state legislature in the country to take note of Rep. Adam Clayton Powell Jr.'s call for March 28 to be dedicated to prayer

Simultaneously, Sen. Daniel Rudstein, Democrat of Dorchester, announced that he is circulating a petition throughout his district asking citizens to join with him in protesting the exclusion of Miss Artherine Lucy from the University of Alabama, and calling upon the Department of Justice to conduct an immediate investigation into the violation of Miss Lucy's civil rights.

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Citizens Council No Place for Klan; Leaders Place Guard Against KKK

By ROBERT WEBB

State Times Staff Writer

More and more of the national spotlight is focusing on the Citizens Councils.

With almost every news development on the segregation issue, the Councils are mentioned.

All too frequently we hear charges of Ku Klux Klanism being hurled at the Councils by Northern "liberals."

But, if the makeup of the Mississippi Councils is any criterion, the organization is as far from the KKK doctrine as Washington is from Moscow.

The high-principled community leaders who founded the Councils in Mississippi are among America's finest citizens. Few groups can boast the caliber of men the Mississippi Councils have chosen to command their affairs.

Their integrity and devotion to the principles of fairness and justice are unquestionable.

Keep Public Informed

They have one purpose—to keep the public informed on developments in the South's fight to retain segregation.

In the Jackson Citizens Council, we have a perfect example of the general caliber of men who compose the organizations in 59 of the state's 82 counties.

At the top, as president, is Ellis W. Wright Sr., funeral director and community servant of many years standing. The Vice-president, C. H. King, a past-president of the Jackson Chamber of Commerce; is head of the Mississippi Road Supply Co.

For its treasurer, the Jackson Council picked Marvin Collum, president of the Jackson-Hinds Bank and president of the Chamber of Commerce.

On through the board of directors the list of Jackson Council leaders provides an index to the community's top business and public-spirited citizens.

The board includes men like Julian P. Alexander Jr., former Hinds County district attorney; Samuel M. Bailey, president of Jax-Stone Company; George W. Gdwin, recent king of the Carnival Ball and owner of an advertising agency; Dr. J. Harvey John-

ston, surgeon; and Garner M. Lester, cotton broker.

Story Much The Same

Over the state the story is pretty much the same. Bankers, lawyers, doctors, merchants and brokers are being counted on by the estimated 80,000 councilors to direct them in the right and legal path of preserving Southern traditions.

In Greenville, for example, the Citizens Council is headed by Conwell Sykes, president of the Commercial National Bank. Clarksdale's council has as its president another banker, Eddie Peacock.

Fred Anderson, attorney and lumberman, is president of the Citizens Council at Gloster.

Principal safeguard against radicalism is the power of each local council's board of directors to dissolve its chapter if dangerous elements appear in the membership.

Men of high principle may take differing attitudes on public issues. But, North and South, these men will stick to the tenets that have won them the support of their neighbors in community affairs.

Back in August, 1954, the first Citizens Council was organized at Indianola under leadership of 14 prominent community-spirited men.

The movement caught fire until today applications for memberships are being made by people across the nation.

Simmons Prime Mover

A prime mover in the Councils has been mustached, angular W. J. Simmons, a native Mississippian and alumnus of both Mississippi and Millsaps Colleges.

As secretary of the Jackson Council and state administrator of the Councils, Simmons has figured as the principal spokesman for the organization.

Under his direction, the councils are coordinated into county, congressional district and state organization.

The only other paid state official of the Councils is R. B. Patterson, who maintains the state headquarters at Greenwood in steady communication with the Jackson office.

Patterson makes this observation on the Councils' make-up:

"In Mississippi, prominent, level-headed, courageous leadership has been found in each instance, and the members that belong to our Councils come from every walk of life.

"Every man who is a patriotic, law-abiding American who loves his state and nation should be proud to take part in this movement."

With mail to the Jackson office alone ranging between 25 and 200 pieces daily, depending on news developments, the Councils have become a main source of information on the segregation issue and States' Rights.

Affiliated With Federation

In this respect, many Council leaders have affiliated with the Federation for Constitutional Government, a New Orleans-headquartered organization that's reported spreading throughout the country.

Both the Councils and the Federation have fostered the doctrine of interposition which Mississippi and four other Southern states—South Carolina, Virginia, Georgia and Alabama—have adopted as their principal firing piece against integration.

Simmons, staunch advocate of Constitutional States' Rights, remarked:

"We in the councils and the Federation hope to make the doctrine of interposition applicable not only to the Southern localities, but also to all areas of the country where the rights and privileges of the states are an issue."

By passing resolutions of interposition, state legislatures are asserting their disdain of the Supreme Court school integration decision.

They are calling for a showdown, all within the legal framework of the federal system, on whether the high tribunal has the right to dictate the conduct of public school affairs, a right historically reserved to the states.

Simmons said the daily mail bag is usually about "99 and 44-100ths favorable to the Councils."

If the Federation move continues its gains, the soft-spoken Council official predicted, the mail will be even more favorable.

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STATE TIMES
JACKSON, MISS.

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Honors for Eastland

A few nights ago a United States senator, speaking in Montgomery, Alabama, where the race issue is dangerously explosive, called for mass defiance of the United States Supreme Court. Addressing the White Citizens Council—the new Ku Klux Klan of the South—the senator said in part:

"You are the hard inflexible core of resistance in Alabama. We must organize every county, every city and every community into a grass-roots organization such as you represent. We must be militant" (in resisting the Supreme Court desegregation edict).

This plea for entrenchment against the Supreme Court ruling was only one of many public pronouncements made by Senator James O. Eastland, Democrat of Mississippi, in recent months. Some of his attacks on the Supreme Court and upon justices personally have been too shocking and shameful to repeat here.

In spite of his demonstrated deep prejudices and demagoguery, the Senate Judiciary Committee Friday named Senator Eastland as chairman of this critical and highly influential body. This is another example of the weakness of the escalator system by which seniority automatically elevates a man to a committee chairmanship irrespective of his fitness for the position. Eastland succeeds the late Senator Harley Kilgore of West Virginia.

The news story on Senator Eastland's elevation to the position where he can damage the unity and prestige of the three-department U.S. government, mentions the names of only two senators, both Democrats, who spoke out against Eastland, though "noes" were heard in the voice vote. Senator Lehman of New York in a Senate speech called Eastland a "symbol of racism" and accused him of association with organizations engaging in "wholly un-American activities" and Senator Morse of Oregon also protested. Prominent Democrats and Republicans on the committee who are known for their high ethics and sense of fair play are not recorded as having spoken up.

The seniority rule is admittedly deeply entrenched. It has prevailed for more than a century in the Senate and about half that long in the House. The Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946 significantly refrained from mentioning this evil system.

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| Mr. Tolson | ✓ |
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| Mr. Mason | ✓ |
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| Mr. Holloman | ✓ |
| Miss Gandy | ✓ |

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THE SALT LAKE TRIBUNE
MARCH 4, 1956
SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH

EDITORIAL
EXECUTIVE EDITOR:
ARTHUR C. DECK

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In his book, "A 20th Century Congress," Senator Kefauver said: "Any member who tried to buck the system would be howled down as an upstart or maverick and probably subjected to such political punishment as denial of patronage." And he added: "It has happened."

Should it continue to happen?

The early challengers of McCarthy also were howled down, but eventually his wings were clipped. At least more committee members could have called public attention to the evils of the seniority system.

The prestige of the United States Senate has suffered a new setback.

Affairs of State

Interposition Not Just Segregation Weapon of South, But Arms for States

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- Mr. Nichols _____
- Mr. Boardman _____
- Mr. Belmont _____
- Mr. Mason _____
- Mr. Mohr _____
- Mr. Parsons _____
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- Tele. Room _____
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- Miss Gandy _____

McGowan

W. H. Hightower

CITIZENS

Call me!

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105-34237-11

By CHARLES M. HILS
Clarion-Ledger Staff Writer

Faith of a major portion of the white people of Mississippi today rests in the interposition resolution just adopted by our legislature.

It is the hope of most of us that employment of this resolution may be the key to staving off the threat of integration which we fear and at the same time vow we will not permit in our state.

The interposition movement is not confined to the segregation issue, however, though in our case it is the primary motive at this time.

Actually, interposition recites the rights of a state or states to stand up for local enforcement and administration of any and all powers not delegated to the federal government.

Mississippi contends that it has never given to the federal administration the right to manage its schools or to say who shall or shall not attend them. The state pays the way of its schools, along with the local community and county governments. Therefore, the state appeals to the Congress to halt the encroachments of the U. S. Supreme Court by juristic legislation.

Many members of the legislature, including our lieutenant governor and the speaker of the house of representatives, took the

floor a few days ago in the Senate and House respectively, to explain and exalt the doctrine of interposition.

"They did a good job, but we think also that a south Mississippian, Rep. Joe Blass, of Stone county, brought forward some points that are important.

"We are dealing with the question of continuation of the Union of the States," Blass quietly observed. "A precedent of encroachment by the U. S. Supreme Court has been set which may destroy other states in the future. We have no power greater than that of the several states.

"Therefore, we seek to invoke by this resolution of interposition, an action which has considerable legal merit.

"The U. S. Supreme Court decision banning segregation is not without effect, but, it is without legal effect," Blass explained. "We have no higher court to which to appeal, so, we appeal to the authority of the states and to the Congress to intercede for our state's rights.

"I believe it is the duty of this state and others to jealously guard our rights. If we surrender them, then the Union of the states is ended," Blass concluded.

Here, we think that the Stone county has hit at the heart of the

issue. Not just the segregation issue, but any issue in which the rights of the states are encompassed by the supreme court must be met with resistance by all the states, not just Mississippi or the Southern states.

We are not only involved. All states are involved when the rights not delegated to the federal government, which is the creature of the state's creation, are abridged.

Burning of Forests

Rep. Pettis Walley, Perry county, has come up with a bill under which the State Forestry Commission may cooperate in the controlled burning of forest areas.

A petition by a majority of the landholders in an area may get such assistance and equipment as may be needed for a burning project.

The aim of the measure is of course, to get underbrush and unwanted trees out of the way to prevent forest fire hazards in densely and valuable wooded areas.

THE CLARION-LEDGER
JACKSON, MISS.
3/4/56
Sect. 1 Page 15 Cols. 4-7
MAR 30 1956

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(SEGREGATION)

MEMPHIS, TENN.--THE 75-YEAR-OLD NATIONAL CHAIRMAN OF THE PRO-SOUTHERNERS RESIGNED TODAY CHARGING THAT THE ORGANIZATION HAS ADOPTED "A FAR DIFFERENT APPROACH TO THE SEGREGATION PROBLEM."
 HARRY WILLIAM PYLE, A RETIRED HOUSE PAINTER AND A FORMER MEMBER OF THE KU KLUX KLAN, SAID THE PRO-SOUTHERNERS, WHICH BACKS SEGREGATION IS HAMPERED BY "DISSENSION" AND "I CAN'T SEE ANYTHING WE CAN ACCOMPLISH."
 IN HIS LETTER OF RESIGNATION, PYLE CAME TO THE DEFENSE OF MAYOR EDMUND ORGILL OF MEMPHIS WHO HAS BEEN FLOODED WITH ANONYMOUS TELEPHONE CALLS AND WITH VISITS BY POLICE CARS AND FIRE TRUCKS DISPATCHED ON PHONY REPORTS OF FIRE AND TROUBLE.
 THE HARASSMENT OF ORGILL STARTED AFTER HE HAD ASKED MEMPHIS CITIZENS TO GIVE HIM THEIR VIEWS ON NAMING A NEGRO TRUSTEE TO THE CITY HOSPITAL BOARD.
 THE GROUP RECENTLY CALLED ON THE MEMPHIS PARK COMMISSION TO CLOSE PARKS AND RECREATIONAL FACILITIES RATHER THAN OPEN THEM TO NEGROES.

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WASHINGTON CITY NEWS SERVICE

DATE: 3-3-56

Mississippi's Stand

The Mississippi Legislature on Wednesday adopted the policy of interposition in its fight against the integration decisions of the Supreme Court. In neither House nor Senate was a single dissenting voice heard.

The Legislature took its stand on the ground that the Court's rulings against segregation of the races are "unconstitutional, invalid and of no lawful effect within the confines of the state." Further the Legislature declared that it will take "all appropriate measures honorably and constitutionally available to us to void this illegal encroachment upon our rights."

People in other sections of the country could make no more substantial error than to suppose the Mississippi Legislature meant merely to be obstructive and indulge in a delaying action. On the contrary, it has had resort to a process not without honorable precedent in our history when the people of a state or area were deeply stirred by the belief they were being put upon by unconstitutional and oppressive employment of powers by the central government.

The policy of interposition means in effect that the people of a sovereign state feel that they have been subjected to dictatorial and unauthorized action by a branch of the Federal Government. In this case, the Supreme Court is in question, but the principle would be applicable, under adequate provocation, to the legislative or executive arms as well. It amounts to saying that interposition is a proper means of checking undue use of Federal influence on state affairs.

The interposition stand is sound also in that it calls emphatic attention of sister states to the position and feelings of one that believes it is being unjustly treated. It likewise puts other states on notice that they may also become subject to acts of the Federal Government to which they would strenuously object, and it indicates what the results would be. Finally, it invites other states to decide after becoming fully appraised of a situation whether the Constitution shall be amended.

What the Mississippi Legislature has done is to make every effort to see that all the people of the nation know the score, which amounts to a conviction that integration would damage its educational system, meantime disrupting the social order most gravely. Its act is calculated to bring into the light the real meaning of the opposition to integration and to show how seriously the South regards it.

FROM: THE COMMERCIAL APPEAL
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE
DATE MARCH 2, 1956

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Another fundamental matter involved is the request that Congress submit the question of state sovereignty in a proposal for an amendment to the Constitution that would spell out the school issue. An amendment saying the Supreme Court had the right to take the action it did would be the most orderly and acceptable way to determine the ultimate decision.

It is assumable, we believe, that an amendment of the sort mentioned would be defeated without difficulty, which is the more reason for making the Supreme Court rulings subject to test through legal, constitutional processes.

Mississippi feels the Court has encroached on the powers reserved to the several states and has, in effect, abrogated to itself the functions properly exercised only by state legislative bodies. Fairness demands proof of how widely that feeling prevails in the nation.

When this Republic was being organized, the founders, with great wisdom provided checks and balances including an amending process that requires approval of at least three-fourths of the sovereign states before the Constitution could be changed.

Obviously, the edicts of the Supreme Court could not get a three-fourths vote of sanction in this instance. Its actions, then, lend substance to the argument that it has circumvented the intent of the Founding Fathers that no state or group of states should be subjected to what they regarded as intolerable conditions unless it were found by the three-fourths rule that the imposition was held to be necessary in the interest of the welfare of the Republic.

It is not nullification or secession Mississippi has in mind, but a testing through legal methods of the definitions of power as between the sovereign states and the central government. It has thus put all the other states on notice that a question of primary importance to the nation and its form of government requires an answer to which no exception can be taken.

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- Mr. Rosen _____
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Bureau

Subversive Listing Asked By Powell for White Units

Representative Powell, New York Negro Democrat, called on Attorney General Brownell today to list as "subversive" the white Citizens' Councils which are active in the fight against desegregation in the South.

The Congressman announced his action in an address for Founder's Day ceremonies at Howard University.

At the same time he accused the White House of "passing the buck" and renewed his proposal that President Eisenhower call leaders of the Negro and white races in the South to a conference to work out a program for interracial peace.

He also called on Adlai Stevenson, as the 1952 Democratic presidential nominee and titular head of that party, to arrange for a Democratic National Committee vote on whether Senator Eastland, Democrat of Mississippi, an active opponent of racial integration, shall succeed to the chairmanship of the Senate Judiciary Committee which passes on civil rights issues.

Mr. Powell told his audience that "the future of America as a free power is being de-

vised" in racial disputes "behind the dark curtain in Alabama."

He referred to the bus boycott by Negroes in Montgomery over segregation rules in the public conveyances, and the riot-marked and much-litigated efforts of Autherine Lucy to be the first Negro student at the University of Alabama.

"The peoples of Asia and Africa have decided that no nation is going to be a first-class nation in tomorrow's world that has second-class citizens," Mr. Powell said.

The world, he asserted, is judging America as a democracy "upon the basis of the calculated lawlessness in the six defiant States."

Prime Minister Nehru of India and Premier Nasser of Egypt, for instance, Mr. Powell said, are "very vitally interested" in what happens to Miss Lucy and to those arrested as leaders of the bus boycott.

Mr. Powell, a clergyman as well as a lawmaker, paid special attention to the arrest of 26 Negro ministers in the Montgomery dispute.

Asserting that that action has

See POWELL, Page A-13

POWELL

Continued From First Page placed America "on an equal basis of religious persecution with godless Soviet Russia and its minions," Mr. Powell said in reference to Roman Catholic prelates imprisoned by Soviet satellite regimes:

"America now has its Archbishop Stepinacs and its Cardinal Mindszenty's."

Mr. Powell's letter to Mr. Brownell, which he said was dispatched today, asked for inclusion on the Justice Department's subversive list of "those white citizens' councils who are subverting the law of our land, who are disloyal to the Constitution of the United States, who refuse to accept the decision of the Supreme Court, who are scoring day after day great victories for communism against our democratic races."

He said they come in the classification set out in an executive order by Mr. Eisenhower, of groups "who through acts of force deny other persons their rights under the Constitution or seek to alter the form of government of the United States by unconstitutional means."

In renewing his call for a White House conference, Mr. Powell said the time Mr. Eisenhower recently spent shooting quail in Georgia "could have been profitably spent in conference with Negro and white leaders to keep Negroes from being shot."

He applied his "buck passing" description to a White House letter, responding to his original proposal, which suggested that Mr. Powell and other lawmakers speed up congressional action on a White House plan for a commission to consider civil rights matters.

Unless the President shows he has "the physical strength" for a White House conference on the subject, Mr. Powell said, "we are not going to be able to accept his word that he is physically fit to be President of the United States for another four years."

Hits Stevenson Proposal
Mr. Powell rejected what he called the "moderation" proposal of Mr. Stevenson on the segregation issue. He made a "demand" that Mr. Stevenson take a position without "shilly-shallying, pussy-footing and double-talking" if he "expects to continue to be the leader of many Negroes and right-thinking whites."

Three colored leaders were honored for outstanding post-graduate achievement at the exercises commemorating the 89th anniversary of the founding of the university.

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Baumgardner

At the charge day program held in Rankin Memorial Chapel on the campus, the following received scrolls:

Llewellyn J. Scott, founder and director of Blessed Martin de Porres Hospice, a Southwest home for the indigent, for social work.

Frederick D. Wilkinson, registrar of Howard University since 1920, for endeavors in the field of education.

Dr. August C. Terrence, president of the National Medical Association, for public service for his efforts to obtain voting rights for Negroes in Louisiana.

University President Dr. Mordecai W. Johnson, told the story of the growth of the institution from a single two-story frame building to the \$23 million plant it is today. The invocation was delivered by Dr. Daniel G. Hill, dean of Rankin Chapel. Music was furnished by the university choir.

The exercises were attended by members of the student body, civic and educational leaders from the area.

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Mississippi Vote
Interposition Bill 16
 JACKSON, Miss., March 1 (AP) — The Mississippi Legislature, hinting it might later invoke the stronger doctrine of nullification, adopted an interposition resolution condemning the U. S. Supreme Court decision outlawing segregation. Representatives voted 123-7, yesterday against including in the carefully worded Senate resolution a section stating: "This resolution rejects the doctrine of nullification." Gov. J. P. Coleman favored interposition over nullification on the grounds that nullification implies use of force to become effective. As soon as the resolution passed, 136-0, a quartet sang "Dixie." The house cheered.

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Louisiana Seeks to Outlaw NAACP

BATON ROUGE, La., March 1 (INS)—Louisiana sought today to outlaw the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People within the state through use of a 31-year-old law passed to kill the Ku Klux Klan.

Attorney General Fred S. Leblanc and two members of the pro-segregation citizens councils filed a suit in 19th District Court in Baton Rouge asking that the NAACP be dissolved.

District Judge Coleman Lindsey immediately ordered the NAACP to show cause by March 19 why it should not be temporarily enjoined from holding meetings.

The NAACP recently won a decision ordering New Orleans to integrate its public schools. School authorities plan to appeal that decision.

Only yesterday, the NAACP filed a suit asking for desegregation of public schools in Baton Rouge.

Mississippi Votes

Interposition Bill

JACKSON, Miss., March 1 (AP)—The Mississippi Legislature, hinting it might later invoke the stronger doctrine of nullification, adopted an interposition resolution condemning the U. S. Supreme Court decision outlawing segregation.

Representatives voted, 123-7, yesterday against including in the carefully worded Senate resolution a section stating: "This resolution rejects the doctrine of nullification."

Gov. J. P. Coleman favored interposition over nullification on the grounds that nullification implies use of force to become effective.

As soon as the resolution passed, 136-0, a quartet sang "Dixie." The house cheered.

Montgomery Boycott Aid Asked by Ministers

The International Ministerial Alliance, a Negro ministers' group, has appealed for "moral and financial support" for their clergymen in Montgomery, Ala. One hundred ministers unanimously indorsed a move to help the pastors who are taking a leading part in the Montgomery bus boycott.

The proposal was made by the Rev. Dr. William H. Jernagin, pastor of Mount Carmel Baptist Church.

Dr. Jernagin will head a committee composed of representatives from three Negro ministerial groups.

The committee was instructed to promote a March 28 National Day of Prayer.

'Jelly Fish' Handling Of Mitchell Derided

COLUMBIA, S. C., March 1 (AP)—A state representative has criticized Florence authorities for what he termed "the jelly fish manner in which they handled Clarence Mitchell's flagrant violation of South Carolina segregation customs."

Rep. John Calhoun Hart of

Columbia, an outspoken segregationist, said in a prepared statement that "bashing Mitchell's head would have had a highly salutary effect on integration psychology in the Florence area."

The legislator referred to the crossing of a case brought

against Mitchell, head of the Washington office of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, because he used a white railroad waiting room.

The FBI entered the case yesterday on orders of the Justice Department to determine

whether Federal civil rights laws were violated.

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64 MAR 25 1956

NAACP Ready to Fight Proposed Louisiana Ban

BATON ROUGE, La., Mar. 2 (AP).—Louisiana's move to outlaw the NAACP under an anti-Klan law brought promise today of a hot court battle.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People said it would "be compelled to defend" itself against the civil suit in a State District Court.

Behind the State's counterattack yesterday is the hope of segregation leaders that it may blunt the NAACP's drive for public school integration.

Attorney General Fred S. Le Blanc asked the court to dissolve the NAACP in Louisiana and ban NAACP meetings.

He acted under terms of a 1924 law, still untouched on the books, requiring about every type of organization to file annual membership lists with the secretary of state. It was enacted to drive out the Ku-Klux Klan.

This the NAACP has failed to do in the last three years, the State petition charged. Under the law, when there are violations, the attorney general is directed "to proceed by injunction or otherwise" to dissolve the offending organizations.

In the first court step, District Judge Coleman Lindsey ordered the NAACP and 12 defendants to show cause March 19 why a preliminary injunction should not be issued.

The NAACP has shaken Louisiana twice within the last few days. First was a Federal Court decision in New Orleans knocking out the State's 1954 laws attempting to skirt the United States Supreme Court ban on public school segregation. Last Wednesday a second NAACP suit

in the New Orleans Federal Court attacked classroom segregation in the capital city here.

State Senator W. M. Rainach, chairman of the Joint Legislative Committee on Segregation, said his group had spent nearly a year with the Attorney General and executive office planning the law suit to outlaw the NAACP.

He termed it "Louisiana's first counteroffensive" against the NAACP, and suggested it would set a pattern for other Southern States.

Senator Rainach, also president of the newly formed Association of Citizens Councils of Louisiana, said:

"Many more different actions will follow.

"The NAACP is an alien, arrogant, destructive force seeking to drive a bitter wedge between the white and Negro races in the South. It should be destroyed completely by laws and public opinion and driven from our midst." He went on:

"There are more surprises in store for the NAACP in Louisiana."

In New Orleans, A. P. Tureaud, sr., Louisiana's top NAACP attorney, contended the law has not been used since 1924 and few organizations have been required to comply.

"So far as the NAACP is concerned," he said, "we will be compelled to defend the action. But dissolving the NAACP in this State will not stop the forward movement of the people for their civil rights."

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Mississippi Legislature Adopts Interposition

JACKSON, Miss., Mar. 1. (AP)—The Mississippi Legislature, hinting it might later invoke the stronger doctrine of nullification, has adopted an interposition resolution condemning the United States Supreme Court decision outlawing segregation.

Representatives voted 123-7 yesterday against including in the carefully worded Senate resolution a section stating: "This resolution rejects the doctrine of nullification."

The theory of interposition holds that the Federal Government exercises its authority by favor of the several States and that the States can interpose their sovereignty when the Federal Government exceeds the power granted it by the States. In carrying out a policy of nullification, a State would impede or seek to prevent the operation and enforcement of a Federal law within its borders.

Quartet Sings "Dixie"

Gov. J. P. Coleman favored interposition over nullification on the grounds that nullification implies use of force to become effective.

House Speaker Walter Sillers cautioned:

"There is no reason to reject any doctrine that might be of some great benefit to us."

As soon as the resolution

passed, 136-0, a quartet sang "Dixie." The House cheered.

Then, Representative Russell Fox succeeded in earmarking \$5,000 of Library Commission appropriations for books pointing up white supremacy.

And Representative Bennett Smith introduced a bill prohibiting whites and Negroes from using the same recreational facilities.

Acts to Show Disapproval

Mr. Sillers told the House:

"We take the position that the Supreme Court has, to all intents and purposes, amended the Constitution by saying when and how States will maintain public schools. We do not defy the authority of the Federal Government. We protest because unless we protest, we will be considered to have approved."

The resolution calls on Congress to initiate a constitutional amendment halting what the State legislators called the invasion of Mississippi's rights.

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Not the Place for Eastland

The prospect of Senator James O. Eastland of Mississippi presiding as chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee is inappropriate in the extreme. A Senator who is in open defiance of the Supreme Court's decision against segregation in public schools would be the ranking officer of the legislative branch in matters pertaining to the very law he flouts.

This is the same James Eastland who only a few nights ago egged on a mass meeting of the White Citizen's Council—the new Ku Klux Klan—in Montgomery, Ala., by calling for "grass roots" entrenchment against the Supreme Court ruling.

"You are the hard inflexible core of resistance in Alabama," he declared. "We must organize every county, every city and every community into a grass roots organization such as you represent. We must be militant."

These words are shameful and shocking enough coming from a United States Senator. How would they sound coming from the chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee? Yet that is the post to which, by virtue of the dubious seniority rule, Mr. Eastland has become eligible because of the death of Senator Harley Kilgore of West Virginia.

The seniority rule is deeply entrenched in Congress. It has prevailed for more than a century in the Senate and for nearly half that time in the House. The framers of the most recent reform of Congress, the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, avoided it like the political plague. We do not underestimate the difficulty of excising it either in the particular or in the general.

But if there has been a time in recent years when Senators should be inspired to stand up and fight for the dignity of the Senate and the good of the country, that occasion is the impending elevation of Eastland to the Judiciary chairmanship. This is the imitation McCarthy who recently abused the authority of his chairmanship of the internal security subcommittee in pillory. *The New York Times.*

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Title: SENATOR JAMES O. EASTLAND

Character;

ST. LOUIS POST DISPATCH
 ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI

Date: February 29, 1956

Edition: City

Author:

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What do other members of the Senate Judiciary Committee like Hennings of Missouri, Kefauver of Tennessee and O'Mahoney of Wyoming—like Wiley of Wisconsin and Dirksen of Illinois—think about it? What do they propose to do about it? A determined fight on their part to block Eastland for chairman conceivably could succeed and even its failure would be a gain if it focussed national attention on the evils of the seniority system.

"Any member who tried to buck the system would be howled down as an upstart or maverick and probably subjected to such political punishment as denial of patronage," Mr. Kefauver wrote in his book, "A 20th Century Congress." And he added: "It has happened."

Indeed it has happened. But it will continue to happen, and worse along with it, until there are enough Senators willing to take the risk who will insist upon a method of selection more rational and more soundly based on merit. If the Eastland case does not offend enough Senators into sufficient action, what, it might be asked, may be expected to?

Williams Praises Citizens Councils

GREENVILLE, Feb. 28—Congressman John Bell Williams told an assembly of the Delta Citizens Councils here tonight that their organizations in Mississippi and throughout the South have proved the "most effective means of resisting NAACP pressures."

The congressman spoke at the first public meeting of the newly formed Greenville Citizens Council, held in the high school auditorium. About 700 persons from the Delta and other parts of the state heard the address.

Williams was introduced by Herb Huddleston, Washington county planter, and Ramsey Russell of Greenville presided over the meeting.

The speaker was cheered by his audience as he said that interposition as the legal means of resisting integration has put the NAACP on the defensive along with all other integrationists.

He said that it is a legal means of appeal for the states from rulings of the U. S. Supreme Court banning segregation.

"Other states are beginning to sit up and take notice of what is happening to states' rights," Williams cried. "For the first time in many years we are gaining sympathizers and friends throughout the country, even in states where the NAACP is strongest."

He continued:

"In facing up to the problems that beset us, we cannot afford the luxury of complacency or the convenience of hasty action. We must, if we are to prevail, act in calm judgment, but with the firmness and resolve which the occasion demands. There can be no retreating born of momentary expediencies, and no haggling over methods when that haggling retards the progress of our high purposes.

"It is a sad commentary on current judicial integrity when their decisions can be attacked on legal premises by lawyers from every corner of our nation; but sadder,

indeed, is the fact that — to my information, at least — not one single legal authority of any stature has been willing to come forward and offer a legal defense of the Court's action. It must be assumed, therefore, by all who are versed in the law, that any honest court of law — exercising the same regard for the doctrine of stare decisis and other established principles of law was exercised by the Supreme Court in the school cases — would be compelled to take judicial notice of the illegality of the Black Monday decisions.

"The Supreme Court, on Black Monday, yielded to the pressures of these Johnny-come-lately political powers who claim to hold the balance of power between the two major political parties of this country and demand ransom with the political future of the Country as their hostage."

"News stories which justify southern attitudes are deliberately withheld from print; statements favoring segregation by southern leaders are deliberately distorted to make the author appear as a bigoted fool; words are lifted from context to make it appear that we in the south hold our negro friends in utter contempt which is, of course, contrary to all the teachings and tenets of the Southern people. They seize upon interracial crimes in the South, amplify them out of proportion to their importance to make it look as if lynching negroes is a favorite Southern pastime among the white people.

"They encourage southern writers to become apologists for their people, and make betrayal of their people the prices to be paid for high journalistic awards. Even a mediocre writer, if he is a Southerner, can scale the heights of journalistic acclaim by the simple expedient of depicting his neighbors as fools, bigots, ignoramuses, hate peddlers and sadistic fiends who take delight in murdering those of the minority races. These

journalistic charlatans have prospered; thanks to the current crusade being directed against the good people of the South.

"It is significant that those who are farthest removed from the problem and who know less about it, are the first to come forward with solutions to it. Segregation is no problem in Minnesota, or Montana, or Oregon or Arizona, where an infinitesimal percentage of the population is comprised of negroes. The problem is ours, and it is ours to solve in the way we deem best suited to local conditions and needs. We do not welcome the interference — however well-intentioned it may be of outsiders whose only knowledge of conditions here is to be gained from a slanted northern press, or the commercialized diatribes of scalawag southern journalists," Williams concluded.

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The South's Bias Problem

Spreading White Councils 'Like Religion' to Many; Avow Legal Aims, but Say Nothing Will Halt Them

Following is the second article of a series by Robert S. Bird assaying the South's integration problem.

A related article, a Gallup poll finding that eight out of ten Southern whites oppose the Supreme Court's school decision, is on Page 2.

By Robert S. Bird

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Feb. 26.—Unlike the Ku-Klux Klan, the new white supremacy movement spreading through the South does not wear masks or other regalia, has no esoteric ritual, disavows terrorism and publicly opposes violence.

Unlike the Klan, also, this movement which calls itself the Citizens Councils, extends eligibility to women, holds public meetings, and makes no particular effort to hide its membership.

Like a thousand-odd organizations in this country, undoubtedly including Negro ones, its members avow loyalty to their church, state and country. And like the Communist party, which it despises, it purportedly links its main objectives to principles enunciated by Abraham Lincoln and Thomas Jefferson.

It is dedicated, it says, "to the maintenance of peace, good order and domestic tranquillity in our communities and in our state and to the preservation of our state's rights."

But What Does All This Mean?

But what does all this really mean? The fact is, nobody really seems to know. In judgment of this reporter, applies even for the leaders of the movement. From discussions with them, they seem to have some awareness that they may have started something rolling which may yet run away with itself. Not that they appear worried; they are quite happy about the way it is rolling today.

"It's like a religion with some of us," says Luther Ingalls, a Montgomery attorney, who is a co-founder of the movement here in Alabama. "In fact, for some of us, it is our religion."

The announced purpose of the Citizen's Council movement is to fight integration of schools specifically, and desegregation in general, by any and all legal means. Its leaders in the various communities include many respected and influential persons; and also, many rabble-rousing politicians and outright hate mongers.

Officially, the program is

pitched on a lofty plane of legal action based on states' rights.

But under that is a thinly disguised effort to depict the Negro race as inherently inferior to the white, and the white blood of the South as something so sacred that it must be preserved at all costs from contamination through any change in "the Southern way of life."

The great fear of moderate-thinking Southerners is that this movement may contain elements of the old Ku-Klux Klan; and that whatever the organization is now, there is great danger that these vicious elements may gain control.

Though it makes a big point in insisting that it is not political, it certainly is a political action group. It openly is put-

ting its weight behind all politicians who favor its program. It has announced that it will invite candidates to all political office from highest to lowest in the state to declare themselves publicly on integration. Then, it says, it "will let the public judge their fitness for office."

The movement began in Mississippi in the middle of 1954. It reached Alabama about a year later. It has spread to all the Southern states in a loose affiliation of local chapters which in other states operate autonomously.

There is as yet no central coordinating office for the whole movement, and the growth of the movement in the various Southern states has been un-

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even, although steadily expanding. Mississippi, for example, has more than 200 chapters which are centralized state-wide as a Citizens Council organization and are federated with the other independent groups formed in the state under various names for similar purposes.

Movement Growing Rapidly in Alabama

In Alabama, where the movement is expanding most rapidly, nearly seventy chapters have been formed. In Virginia, only three chapters have been formed. The movement is especially active in Arkansas, Louisiana, North and South Carolina, and Georgia. It extends from Florida to east Texas and north to Kentucky and some other border states.

In addition to the Citizens Councils, more than 100 of the independent sister organizations, bearing a variety of names, including one called "The Southern Gentlemen," are also active throughout the South. They seek to advance the fight against integration along the same lines, and in the end the Citizens Councils may absorb most of them.

Because of the lack of central co-ordination, membership figures for the Councils are so unreliable as to be worthless in the over-all picture. But an indication of the rate of growth in this part of the Deep South is shown by the fact that Montgomery had only 200 members last November, and now can bring out 15,000 at a public rally. The effort to gain 200,000 members in the state alone may succeed within a few months.

Since the movement ostensibly preaches against violence, it is on the ears of an outsider to hear speakers at Citizens Councils' meetings constantly proclaiming that "integration and desegregation will not be allowed to happen here." After that flat statement, if you press the question about the possible hint of violence, as this reporter did with Mr. Ingalls, you get this answer:

"The Citizens Council opposes violence. Its program is to prevent integration through any legal means. If some of our members should participate in violence, that would not be the fault of the Citizens Council any more than it would be the fault of the C. I. O. if members of that union organization engaged in violence."

A reporter can only rely on what he sees, hears and feels. After attending the two most important Citizens Councils meetings held in Alabama since the Autherine Lucy case flared into violence at the University of Alabama, this correspondent can report an almost mild atmosphere at one meeting and a dangerously inflamed sentiment at the other.

At both meetings literature passed out at the door contained certain material, purported to be documentary, though not exactly identified, which was not nice to read. It was the sort of thing that would react on unthinking Southern-

ers in the way half-plausible gossip linking his wife with another man might affect him.

At the milder of the two meetings, more than 12,000 persons were allowed to elbow his sons took every available seatway to the platform and to at Montgomery's huge Coliseum on Feb. 10 to hear Sen. James O. Eastland, the Mississippi Democrat. One feature remarkable about this meeting was that the crowd was bigger than at any other "political" meeting ever held in the state; bigger than anything Gov. James (Kissing Jim) Folsom ever brought out even in the heyday of his now waning popularity.

Middle-Class Audience Causes Surprise

Another aspect which surprised the local observers was that it was a middle-class audience of men and women rather than an aggregation of plant workers and small farmers as they had expected.

But the most significant of all was that the speaking program at this much-advertised meeting was deliberately tamed down. There was no rable-rousing of hatred expressed, even though the Supreme Court came in for a furious drubbing.

In general, the message from the platform was to organize and fight integration by state legislation and every legal device that will hamper, delay and eventually defeat it. The strategy was outlined and expounded upon at length. Many were heard to say after the meeting that it was a little disappointing.

The other meeting was held last week in Tuscaloosa, where the Autherine Lucy violence occurred on Feb. 6. Here the crowd of about 3,000 persons was predominantly industrial workers. Less than a half dozen women were in the audience. The two principal speakers were quite frank in their disparagement of the Negro race.

Unscheduled Speaker Harangues Audience

But an unscheduled speaker, who was allowed to elbow his way to the platform and to harangue the audience without restraint, worked the house up to a howling frenzy in short order. One felt that the actual process of mob-formation was working before one's eyes. Though the meeting did not in the end get out of control, it may well have been averted by a hair's breadth.

But let the Citizens Councils speak for itself.

"The Citizens Councils is the modern version of the oldtime town meeting called to meet any crisis by expressing the will of the people," says the information booklet put out by the Central Alabama Citizens Council headquarters in Montgomery. "The rights to peaceably assemble to petition for a redress of our grievances is guaranteed in the first one of our Bill of Rights in the Constitution of the United States of America. The only reliable prophet for the future is the past, and history proves that the supreme power

in the government of men has
been public sentiment.
The Citizens Councils simply
provide the machinery for mobi-
lizing, concerting and express-
ing public opinion.

To Present 'Truth' About Racial Issue

The booklet says that an in-
formation and education com-
mittee of the organization "pre-
sents to the people within its
community the truth about the
racial question, thereby nulli-
fying the propaganda from alien
influences and pressure groups.
Its job is to convince all of our
people of the advantages of
segregation and the dangers of
integration."

A political and elections com-
mittee, it continues, "studies
candidates for local and state
elections and presents their
qualifications to the voters. It
attempts to get candidates to
voice their opinion on vital sub-
jects prior to election."

A membership and finance
committee "enlists all patriotic
white citizens for membership"
and handles operating expenses,
which are paid through the \$3
dues collected and through con-
tributions.

And a legal advisory commit-
tee "provides the legal knowl-
edge that will aid us to achieve
our aims by constitutional law-
ful means."

The booklet goes on to hit
at the National Association for
the Advancement of Colored
People, which is described
parenthetically after its familiar
initials, N. A. A. C. P., as

"National Association for the
Agitation of Colored People."

Then it adds:
"The Citizens Councils is the
South's answer to the mongrel-
izers. We will not be integrated
(that is emphasized by italics).
We are proud of our white blood
and white heritage of sixty cen-
turies."

There follows a defense of the
organization against charges
that it is bigoted, prejudiced,
biased, immoral and un-Ameri-
can, and then this assertion:

"The idea now is seemingly to
pride ourselves in the fact that
everybody in the world should
be made equal by law, regard-
less of aptitude or heritage. The
'have nots' must share equally
with the 'have got's' in this new
world order."

"We choose," it continues,
"the old paths of our founding
fathers and refuse to destroy
their ancient landmarks to ap-
pease any one, even the inter-
nationalists." This integration
scheme ties right in with the
new, one world, one creed, one
race philosophy fostered by the
ultra-idealist and international
Left Wingers:

"The fate of our great nation
may well rest in the hands of
the Southern white people today.
If we submit to this unconstitu-
tional, judge-made integration
law, the malignant powers of
atheism will surely follow, not
only in our Southland but
throughout the nation. To falter
would be tragic; to fail would
be fatal. The white race will
again stand fast and preserve
and unsullied race as our fore-
fathers did eighty years ago. We
will not be integrated, either
suddenly or gradually."

This gives a fair idea of the
official statement of program,
policy and philosophy. But at

each meeting along with this
official literature, there are also
passed out leaflets and cards
purportedly printed at the ex-
pense of individual members,
whose names and addresses are
given on the material.

Some random samples, for ex-
ample, include a card with a
message addressed to "those
persons who oppose segregation
in schools and favor a mixing of
the races, which quotes verses
12 and 13 of the twenty-third
chapter of Joshua in the Bible;

A long quotation from what is
purported to be a speech by
Abraham Lincoln at Charleston,
Ill., Sept. 18 1858, in which he is
quoted as saying, "I can conceive
of no greater calamity than the
assimilation of the Negro into
our social and political life as
our equal."

A facsimile of writings of
Thomas Jefferson saying that
judges with erroneous bias
should be withdrawn from the
bench, just as "we commit ma-
njacs to bedlam."

Empty Cabins in the Land of The White Citizens Councils

By VIRGINIA GARDNER

(The following notes were gathered on a recent bus trip from Memphis through the Mississippi Delta to Jackson, Miss.)

White Citizens Councils spokesmen and runaway plant press agents alike have on the tips of their tongues figures showing the vast labor pool that is Mississippi's. They include figures on the exodus from plantations.

Traveling through the drear February countryside, with needed rain beating upon level fields whose magnitude dwarfs the film-sy cabins of Negro croppers, the visitor needs no figures to see the story, however.

The empty cabins which meet the eye seem almost as numerous, and hardly more wretched, unpainted and decrepit, than those where children stand in the doorway looking out on the sea of mud, or where clothing swinging on a line, or a three-legged iron wash pot in the yard, tell of occupancy.

IN INDIANOLA, birthplace of the White Citizens Councils, the Mississippi State Employment Service on Main St. was empty save for a couple of officials. But this did not mean there wasn't unemployment. Agricultural workers, not entitled to unemployment insurance, have little reason to apply for jobs, either, as cotton harvesting ended in December and there will be no jobs to speak of until March, planting time.

Before the rains set in, breaking of land for the coming season provided tractor driving jobs for a few, but these are the cream of the farm labor jobs, and do not count for the older workers. The agent said the exodus of young workers left a scarcity of "qualified workers and experienced tractor drivers."

"I sent about 500 to Florida," said the state official, when I asked him what was happening to Negroes now left jobless until March or April. "That was before Christmas. They went to pick tomatoes and beans. But then the freeze killed the tomatoes and beans there, and two-thirds of them came back."

And who paid their passage, the Florida growers? No, he said, the plan was they were to pay for their transportation out of wages, after they got there.

And what are those who returned now doing for food? Were they getting relief? "I don't know, I'm not the relief agent," he said.

Grudgingly he replied, in answer to queries as to surplus food, that some was distributed by the government there last year, but he knew of none being given out in the county this year.

COTTON provides 90 percent of the cash income of the farm population of 65-mile-long Sunflower County. Like the rest of the Delta, its economy is still a plantation economy, based on a sharecropping system never fully freed from the chains of slavery. Sharecroppers don't get relief in Mississippi. But mechanization of cotton picking has meant the increasing introduction of day labor.

Some who remain in the plantation cabins hire out for day wages, and because they are "given" the houses their day wage is less than that given to farm workers brought in from town at peak seasons.

Negro and white farm families "have been leaving here more or less steadily for the last several years," County Farm Agent Cecil Black told me. He attributed it more to reduction in cotton acreage by the government than to machines, saying "We've been more or less mechanized for about 10 years. Some croppers have been cut below the 10 to 15 acres minimum which will yield cotton enough for them to live on."

From 1950 to 1954 colored operators, including sharecroppers, fell 27 percent in numbers, going from 6,787 to 4,959; in Sunflower County. This is higher than the 17 percent exodus of Negroes from the land South-wide. White operators in Sunflower County in the same period went from 2,197 to 1,722, a reduction of 22 percent.

"The idea that most Delta farms are big plantations is a myth," he said. But his figures showed 64 farms of 1,000 or more acres in Sunflower County. Quitman County, almost adjoining, had only 27 of this size, and Washington, ad-

joining, 97. Sunflower, he said, had 642 farms of from 20 to 80 acres.

"We have a normal of 200,000 acres in cotton," he said. "This is now reduced, in 1956, to 118,000."

A total of 305 farms in this county have no tractors, nothing but horse or mule power, doubtless most of them farmed by the 420 colored owners or renters in the county. In 1954 the county boasted 4,260 tractors. Sixteen hundred of its renters or owners are whites.

In comparison to Black's figures of 2,200 farm operators (and 1,636 farms), the census lists 4,600 sharecroppers. (All census figures tend to conceal the extent of domination of big planters, listing sharecrop units as separate farms.)

A NEGRO CAB DRIVER (in Mississippi they are allowed to carry whites but not white and colored together) told me, "Many of my people who've left the and want to come back. Many own their homes here—and they would come back if they could make a living." And their homes? "They have to rent them out for next to nothing," he said.

Machines, he said, had replaced them. "It's rough," he added.

AT THE CHAMBER of Commerce, I was told that Indianola's biggest plant, a million-dollar branch of the Ludlow Manufacturing Co. of Boston, which has been in operation two years, employs 302 persons. This is the plant which supplies all the jute for Mohasco, formerly Alexander Smith, in its runaway plant in Greenville.

The employment office said that of 185 new applicants for jobs in December, 150 were women seeking jobs at a new garment plant scheduled to open in the area. The state official didn't say just where.

I WAS in Indianola, on July 11,

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- Mason _____
- Mohr _____
- Parsons _____
- Rosen _____
- Tamm _____
- Nease _____
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- Holloman _____
- Gandy _____

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W. J. [Signature]

1954, that 14 men met secretly under Robert B. ("Tut") Patterson, 32-year-old planter, to organize the White Citizens Councils. Mrs. Patterson, reached by phone at Saint's Rest plantation, seven miles from town, which he formerly managed and where they still reside, said her husband was away. He had to speak the previous night in Picayune, in the extreme southern end of Mississippi.

"Now isn't that a shame," she said. "He'll be so sorry he missed you." He was very busy these days, she said; they'd organized two new counties. And he now owned, in partnership, a ranch; they had almost 600 head of Black Angus cattle.

Unfortunately, she added, the headquarters (of WCC) was being moved just then from Winona to Greenwood, or she would refer me there. She suggested I try to interview Herman Moore, president of the Indianola Bank.

I asked Mrs. Patterson, who spoke in a soft, feminine voice, what she considered the main purpose of the White Citizens Councils was from "the viewpoint of a Southern woman." Since the WCC first was organized, its constitution was rewritten. Membership, once restricted to white men, is now open to what Judge Tom P. Brady of Brookhaven, in his anti-Negro book, "Black Monday," a virtual bible to WCCers, calls "the loveliest and the purest of God's creatures . . . a well-bred, cultured Southern white woman."

Mrs. Patterson, a member herself, and according to the Indianola newspaper the Sunflower County chairman of the March of Dimes—seemed a little startled by my question. She'd never thought much about it, but she supposed the aim was "to preserve segregation peacefully."

"I understand the constitution was changed so that women could be allowed to assist in the economic pressure campaigns. Does that mean social as well as economic pressures against whites who won't join?" she was asked. Her cultured voice showed no ripple of distaste as she replied smoothly: "I don't think we've had to use much economic pressure—we haven't had that problem here." She was a member herself, but didn't think any real drive was made for women.

"You see so many cabins empty in the fields," I said, "and there are all these figures being published about how many are leaving the land, white and Negro, but

especially Negro. What do you think, Mrs. Patterson, is this Exodus a good thing or a bad thing?"

"Well," she said, in her melodious voice, "if they all want to go North, we can mechanize, of course." I was silent, she added archly: "There's an awful lot of good ones we'd hate to see go. We always got along fine with 'em. Still do. Why, I'm surrounded with 'em out here—always have been, all my life. Of course we've lost a few—we never try to keep any when they want to go. We have plenty of tractor drivers."

IN THE TOWN'S most august bank I waited, as Banker Moore was occupied. It was Moore who, according to James Desmond's Nov. 22 story in The Daily News of New York, bluntly advised against publicity in a speech mimeographed for use by the White Citizens Councils in its early period. Moore, a founder, said in the speech now unavailable:

"There has been no publicity and we have suggested to each group we have met with that they keep it out of the paper and off the air. The news has tickled out, just as we hoped it would. The

Negro knows best that we are organizing but he does not know what we plan to do. The best thing is . . . to keep him guessing and continue our efforts."

I had not long to wait before the door to Banker Moore's sanctum opened and out walked a Negro, dressed in overalls, jacket and boots. I was ushered in. But I had no opportunity to ask Banker Moore if he had just foreclosed a mortgage on the Negro's home or whether he had counted him "a good Negro," in Mrs. Patterson's language, and extended a loan. For the banker eyed me warily as I stated my business, then arose and said testily: "No, you'll have to go. I'm sorry to show you out, but I've tried being interviewed, and it never turned out right."

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Default of Leadership

Not since 1865 has there been a greater need for strong and temperate leadership in the South than there is today. Tensions between the races have mounted to a point where an ugly explosion is an ever-present threat. As always under such circumstances, the demagogues and others who have no respect for the country's great traditions are making capital out of the fears and uncertainties in men's minds. Now the outstanding voice of Southern conservatism is raised in defiance of the Constitution. Sen. Harry F. Byrd's call for "massive resistance" to the Supreme Court's anti-segregation ruling deprives him of the right to call himself a conservative. A conservative is first of all a defender of law and order. Senator Byrd, who has sworn to defend the Constitution and laws of the United States at all costs, has arrayed himself with irresponsible hotheads who would take the law into their own hands. Indeed, such a statement from a man of his stature and position encourages the mob. For Senator Byrd so to forget his responsibility is a frightening thing and a warning of dangers ahead.

His comment that interposition is a "perfectly legal means of appeal from the Supreme Court's order" flies in the face of all the experience of history; indeed, it ignores the decision made at arms in a tragic civil war. Adlai Stevenson properly called attention in his Hartford speech on Saturday to Andrew Jackson's warning against the twin evil, nullification. He could have quoted with equal appropriateness the arguments of Jefferson and Madison. The proper legal means of appeal from a Supreme Court decision is by way of amendment of the Constitution. Moreover, as Virginia's Attorney General has ruled, an interposition resolution does not suspend enforcement of the Supreme Court ruling. By urging "massive resistance," the Virginia Senator is promoting defiance of the basic law of the land.

In some respects, the situation in the South today is ominously like the tragedy of 1860. This does not mean that the country is on the verge of civil conflict. It does mean that the counsel of moderation from recognized Southern leaders is missing in many parts of the South today much as it was missing nearly a century ago. The spotlight is held by demagogues and by those who would defy the law. Surely the exercise of courageous and sensible leadership by responsible civic and political authorities in Montgomery, Ala., would have brought about settlement of the Negro boycott of the buses. But a default of leadership there has resulted in a deepening race conflict.

Alabama's Governor Folsom belatedly called Alabama editors and publishers to a meeting to discuss steps that might be taken to improve race relations. The crying need is for bi-racial commissions to sit in almost continuous session in every Southern state. There should be state and local commissions made up of leaders from both races. They should meet with the authority of the Governors and Mayors behind them. This would help put leadership back into the hands of men who know their obligations and responsibilities, and it would assure orderly instead of violent change while at the same time strengthening the bonds of friendship.

- Wash. Post and Times Herald *16*
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- The Worker _____
- New Leader _____

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Mrs. Roosevelt

Alabama and Mississippi Are Helping the Commies

IT is understandable communists in this country should now be attempting to inject themselves into the controversy over civil rights in the Southern states.

They know well that the more democracy and freedom is achieved in this country, the more attractive the democratic way of life will be to other areas of the world.

If they can align themselves with those who are fighting for civil rights for all our citizens, they will do harm to the movement here and hurt the cause of democracy thruout the world.

WARNING

I am glad that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has warned its branches of the communist party's probable tactics. But the local leaders will have to be alert, indeed, to keep out all communists.

In the meantime, the states of Mississippi and Alabama are making a sad record for the nation as a whole.

One is particularly proud, however, of those courageous Southerners who fight racial prejudices from within and the cruel and unlawful actions of those who attempt to prevent the inevitable march of freedom in this country and in the world as a whole.

HAPPENINGS

What is happening there can not be separated from what is happening all over the world.

Wherever you look, human beings are striving to obtain freedom, equality of opportunity and the dignity all human beings have a right to expect.

One of the most frequent argu-

ments brought up by the southern people against desegregation of schools is that it would bring about intermarriage, creating a "mongrel" race.

VALID?

I often have wondered if this is a valid argument, for in Europe people of different races have sat together in the same schoolrooms for many years.

We in this country have been free for many years to marry those of other races from other parts of the world.

There have been some intermarriages but, by and large, they are few and do not seem to bring about what we usually are told will be a "mongrelized race."

CONVENIENT

It is a convenient argument, but I doubt if it is a valid one.

I doubt, too, if there is any real danger of a large number of intermarriages.

The announcement by the governor of Mississippi that if the courts should order the acceptance of a colored citizen in a college in Mississippi, the college would be closed, is unfortunate for white students in Mississippi who would find it difficult to attend out-of-state colleges.

LOSERS

They are the ones who would lose the opportunity for education. But I surmise that what really would happen is that the state would lose by having its young people go outside its borders for higher education.

Day by day the things that happen in Alabama and Mississippi are doing us harm in our fight against communism in Asia, Africa and the Near East.

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- Daily Worker _____
- The Worker _____
- New Leader _____

Date FEB 27 1956

SEGREGATION CONFLICT: ROLE OF THE 'COUNCILS'

White Citizens' Groups Are Formed To Resist School Integration

By ~~MELTON~~ BRACKER

The "White Citizens Council" movement, which has figured increasingly in the fight over segregation in the South, started in Mississippi soon after the Supreme Court decision of May 17, 1954, which declared unconstitutional the racial segregation of pupils in public schools.

The first council was formed in Indianola, seat of Sunflower County, and its organization was announced during the regular session of the State Legislature at Jackson. There are now nearly 80,000 members, in about 300 chapters, in Mississippi alone.

But it is much more difficult to estimate the strength and importance of the "movement" throughout the South. There is no unity of nomenclature. There are Citizens Councils, a States' Rights Council, a Society to Maintain Segregation, a group calling itself only Southern Gentlemen. So far the significance of all would appear to be as a symbol of reaction to victories for integration elsewhere. All signs indicate that every such victory, in its application to the South, will intensify such reaction.

Meanwhile there is overlapping among the various groups; and there is wide variation as to social composition, secondary aims and day-to-day policy. There is also a difference in the degree of bitterness that may characterize a White Citizens Council in, say, Mississippi and in Texas. The difference may also extend to local councils within one state or to members within one council.

Point of Agreement

The key point in the emerging movement, and the sole common denominator of its disparate components, is opposition to integration. Whether their unit is actually called a "council" or something else; whether they are stable, influential citizens or "white trash"; whether they have other social or political goals or not—the members agree.

But their unity behind this idea is far from a formal thing. Although a good deal of correspondence and literature appears to emanate from council headquarters such as the one at the Hotel Walthall in Jackson, Miss., there is no evidence of a "general headquarters" or of interstate "direction" of any kind. Spokesmen—usually insist that each chapter is autonomous; and chapter leaders often say that all action is individual.

In Jackson, mustached William J. (Bill) Simmons, who runs the Hotel Walthall office, holds that the councils are almost wholly "public relations" groups that never really "act." The councils also assert that they are non-political, but two council leaders already have been elected to the Legislature. To say that the councils are non-political is to say that the integration issue does not have political ramifications—and thus to deny one of the most obvious facts in the current history of the United States.

- Mr. Tolson _____
- Mr. Nichols _____
- Mr. Boardman _____
- Mr. Belmont _____
- Mr. Mohr _____
- Mr. Parsons _____
- Mr. Rosen _____
- Mr. Tamm _____
- Mr. Nease _____
- Mr. Winterrowd _____
- Tele. Room _____
- Mr. Holloman _____
- Miss Gandy _____

in a letter to [unclear]

SAUMGARDNER
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Compared to Klan

The various council groups have frequently been compared to the Ku Klux Klan—a comparison that in some instances has caused justifiable resentment. One basic difference between the new movement and the Klan is the openness with which the councils organize and meet. They use public auditoriums and theatres; the members usually make no attempt to shield their membership from the outside or from each other. And there has been no calculated resort to the white robes and flaming crosses, indelibly identified with the Klan.

That is not to say that there has not been violence in which council members were involved; or that there has not been secrecy in local maneuvers by individuals. What the councils have avoided so far—in some cases because of the determination of relatively enlightened leadership to avoid it, in others because of the realization that it would only lead to difficulties—is the overt mass intimidation and ruthlessness by which the Klan, in its degenerative phase, sought to survive. And there is not the slightest doubt that in a case like South Carolina, for example, citizens have rallied to the White Citizens Council who would have had nothing to do with a resurgent Klan.

Movement in Key States

Any inquiry into the council movement tends to bring out the essentially local origin of the units; and the fact that, at least in their early stages, organization and operation have remained largely localized.

Cooperation among small-town groups, and state-wide cooperation, as in the case of Alabama, seems to depend on a single dramatic incident focusing outside attention on the segregation issue.

There were forty-seven small councils in Alabama before the riots at the university. Since then, the total has reached sixty-one and a state federation has

shaped up. And one of its projects is to question all candidates in the May 1 primary election.

In general, the councils and similar groups have disavowed political aims. But in some instances, notably Georgia, the movement has greater influence because its leaders are the actual political kingpins of the state.

The States' Rights Council has the backing of Governor Marvin Griffin and ex-Governor Herman Talmadge. A Baptist minister is executive director. Governor Griffin has said the nation was looking to Georgia for leadership in the fight.

Prime Movers

Elsewhere, prime movers in the councils may be local business and professional men. Publicly and privately, many of these are opposed to violence and committed to avoid it. Inevitably, there is some distinction between public and private attitudes.

Some states have both moderate and extremist groups. In Louisiana, the W. C. C. proper has 12,000 members. These are described as "moneyed and highly respectable men, not at all of the Ku Klux type, to whom violence would not appeal, although many are rabid on segregation." But the Southern Gentlemen, with secret rolls, are less restrained. Similarly in Tennessee, where the over-all segregationist stand is reasoned, there are at least three splinter groups made up largely of people of narrower views. There has been a renaissance Klan demonstration at Maryville.

In general, incidents of violence are disavowed by organized segregationists. This has been the case in Mississippi, where the situation is generally tenuous, and where—as in Alabama—council members include rich and poor, and a cross-section of the trades and professions.

Nevertheless, Hodding Carter, Pulitzer-prize-winning Greenville editor, has noted that the Mississippi councils contain the seeds of violence, which under certain conditions could spout into another Klan.

Even from one county and town to another, the council issues are debated. There is

original agreement on the goal of defeating integration; but not all council members subscribe to everything in a book like Mississippi Circuit Judge Tom Brady's "Black Monday."

Some council members have actually repudiated parts of that text, at least in so far as it is purported to speak for the council movement. But Judge Brady retains his influence among thousands of lower-class segregationists in many states.

Judge Brady took his title from the day of the Supreme Court decision. It includes lines like these:

"The loveliest and the purest of God's creatures, the nearest thing to an angelic being that treads this, terrestrial ball, is a well-bred, cultured Southern white woman, or her blue-eyed, golden-haired little girl."

Membership Fees

The councils have different fees—usually \$2.50 to \$5 annually—with provision for a minimum percentage remaining with the local unit. They vary in the intensity of their membership drives. They are by no means clear on their approach to one of the most sensitive aspects of the whole problem—the use of economic sanctions.

In South Carolina, for example, some churchmen, notably the State Methodist Conference, publicly deplored the use of such sanctions by some council members. The sanctions touched off economic boycott by Negroes—a reaction that has the most far-reaching and perilous ramifications, as evidenced by the bus boycott in Montgomery.

In sum, the councils, less than two years old, often grope and are plagued by their own doubts and fears as to the best tactics. Their impact has been uneven and is likely to be so for some time.

PROBLEMS AND ANSWERS



Byrd Urges South to Resist

By the Associated Press

Senator Byrd, Democrat of Virginia, yesterday called for "massive resistance" in the South to challenge the Supreme Court's order for racial integration in the public schools.

Senator Byrd made it clear in an interview he is not advocating or condoning violence in opposing enforcement of the order but said he wants Southern States to stand together in declaring the Court's opinion unconstitutional.

"If we can organize the Southern States for massive resistance to this order I think that in time the rest of the country will realize that racial integration is not going to be accepted in the South," he said.

"In interposition, the South has a perfectly legal means of appeal from the Supreme Court's order."

Interposition is a doctrine under which some students of Constitutional government have contended the States could refuse to implement within their own confines a Supreme Court decision they felt did not comply with the Constitution. Legislatures of some of the Southern States already have passed resolutions of this type.

While Senator Byrd did not cast it in that light, his call for Southern unity on the school issue apparently was akin to the "passive resistance" urged by some opponents of racial integration.

Senator Byrd's call for unified Southern support of interposition was in line with the study being given to the question by a group of 18 Southern Senators who met recently under the leadership of Senator George, Democrat of Georgia.

The group named Senators Russell, Democrat of Georgia, Stennis, Democrat of Mississippi, and Ervin, Democrat of North Carolina, as a subcommittee to draft a manifesto the 18 might sign setting forth their opposition to carrying out the Supreme Court order.

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- Mr. Boardman _____
- Mr. Nichols _____
- Mr. Belmont _____
- Mr. Harbo _____
- Mr. Mohr _____
- Mr. Parsons _____
- Mr. Rosen _____
- Mr. Tamm _____
- Mr. Sizoo _____
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- Mr. Holloman _____
- Miss Gandy _____

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Mr. Tolson
 Mr. Nichols
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JOHN BEN SHEPPERD

Shepperd Backs Rights Ballot

AUSTIN, Feb. 25 (AP)—Atty. Gen. John Ben Shepperd gave strong backing today to Gov. Allan Shivers' suggestion that Texans be given an opportunity to vote on interposition in the July primary election.

Interposition is an old, seldom-used legal theory by which a state may try to prevent federal usurpation of rights it feels are reserved to the states.

Shepperd said it would be legal for political party state conventions to put interposition on the ballot so voters can indicate whether they favor use of that strategy to preserve states' rights.

The Attorney General told a meeting of officers of the Civilian Clubs of Texas he would like to see both the Democratic and Republican conventions submit the question to their followers in July's primaries.

Use of interposition has been discussed in Texas recently with particular reference to the issues of racial segregation and control over such natural resources as gas and oil.

Shepperd renewed his suggestion that a special session be called immediately if Texas legislators feel prompt firm action should be taken on an interposition resolution challenging the federal government's authority "to assume control of the conservation, production, and gathering of oil and gas in various states."

He said he was "frankly amazed that no attempt has been made to override the President's veto" of the Harris Bill. That was the bill which sought to exempt independent gas producers from direct federal control.

The San Antonio Express
 San Antonio, Texas
 February 26, 1956

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Calls Interposition Legal

Byrd Summons South To 'Massive Resistance'

Sen. Harry F. Byrd (D/Va.) called yesterday for organized "massive resistance" in the South to challenge the Supreme Court's order against segregation in public schools.

Byrd emphasized he does not advocate or condone violence, but said he wants Southern states to stand together in declaring the Court's opinion unconstitutional.

"If we can organize the Southern states for massive resistance to this order, I think that in time the rest of the country will realize that racial integration is not going to be accepted in the South," the Senator said.

Byrd said that in interposition the South has a "perfectly legal means of appeal from the Supreme Court's order."

Interposition is the right of one or more states to "inter-

pose" against a "deliberate, palpable and dangerous exercise" of powers not granted by the Constitution, and to halt the execution of them within their own boundaries until such powers are placed in the Constitution by amendment."

In the school case, the Court regards the amendment as already adopted—the Fourteenth.

The Virginia General Assembly passed an interposition resolution, but the state's Attorney General J. K. Lindsay Almond Jr. ruled that the resolution does not suspend enforcement of the Supreme Court's desegregation decision in the State. Almond said the General Assembly couldn't nullify or suspend for any period enforcement of the Court's decision.

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Nat Williams' Observations:

Chicago, "Promised Land" Is Bulging at the Seams

By NAT WILLIAMS
(Courier Memphis Correspondent)

CHICAGO—Making a clean break with the South, thousands of Negroes are riding crack trains towards the North's "promised land," running away from the economic pressures and "a new kind of fear." This new "fear" crops up from the South's "new attitudes" towards the Negro. It stems from the failure of Dixie's "good white folks" to come out into the open and voice the sentiments that they so often confide to friends in "private conversation."

On the fast train this reporter rode from Memphis into Chicago, he had ample opportunity to talk with migrants.

Their clothes were generally cheap but clean. They didn't talk loud, and there wasn't much laughing.

They were well-mannered generally, thanking folk for holding doors for them or assisting them up and down the train steps. The women were almost profuse in their expressions of appreciation for assists with babies and luggage.

Nobody broke out in song—hymns or blues—during the entire trip. Occasional music was heard via radio by those who ventured into the cafe car on the "City."

Their luggage was fairly conventional, with an occasional old-time foot locker, shopping bag, or shiny, patent-leather-looking suitcase. Nobody rolled out a quilt or blanket to cover themselves or their children during the long ride.

They Paid With Small Change

Shoe-box lunches were at a strict minimum . . . not over one or two were counted. And those carrying them were fairly careful about their scraps and trash.

Dining-car "butchers," selling peanuts, popcorn, candy and soft drinks did a fairly brisk business. They didn't have to break many big bills. They were paid mostly in small change.



MR. WILLIAMS

*W. W. Williams
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The men did most of their smoking in the men's restrooms. Some of the women smoked.

Yes, these people vary strikingly from the stereotype. But, it was when a stranger sought to engage them in conversation that one received the most emphatic impression that these people are different from the migrating Negroes of the first two decades of the present century.

True, the migrants of the twenties and before were fleeing from the terror of the lynchers' rope and faggot, from a rampaging Ku Klux Klan, from a pitiful poverty, from a woeful lack of adequate provision for even elementary education, from the white majority's refusal to accord them more than a modicum of the respect due the dignity of man.

The Basic Tools of Learning

But the present-day Negro migrants bear visible evidences of having enjoyed a level of living which cannot be described as purely poverty. Most of them have possession of the basic tools of learning so that they don't have to ask too many directions. They can now read them. Many of them have had no direct personal contact with the Klan, and ex-

cept in the case of the attitudes expressed by some of their white neighbors.

And, even in the case of "respect for the dignity of man," many of them had observed evidences of this respect being accorded Negroes on divers occasions.

But, that makes the question loom even larger: Why this sudden increase and acceleration in the number of Negroes leaving the deep South?

A lot of answers push immediately to the front in one's consciousness. They are answers based on observation, deduction and hearsay. Increased racial tensions over the desegregation issue often breaking out in violence against individual Negroes, is given as a factor.

Economic pressures against Negroes, now openly and avowedly employed by responsible white groups to make Negroes conform to the pattern of segregation, despite the urgings of the NAACP, is another factor causing the migration.

The mechanization of farms, a national development, is squeezing Negroes along with other farm families, off of America's farms. It is generally known now that the nation's farms are producing ever-increasing surpluses with ever-dwindling numbers of farm workers, thanks to the new agricultural techniques.

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P. L. Prattis Reports:
Thousands Running Away From South's 'New Fear'

By P. L. PRATTIS

CHICAGO—Chicago, perhaps wrongly regarded as the "new promised land" by those who are making the exodus from the Mississippi Delta by train, truck, bus and automobile, is bulging today with a Negro population of 754,000.

That makes the Chicago Negro community the twelfth largest in the nation, considerably ahead of Pittsburgh's overall total, and not far behind San Francisco.

The figure of 754,000 is a projection based upon a scientific survey completed by the Chicago Tribune in April, 1955, in which it was disclosed that there were then 833,400 Negroes in the Chicago metropolitan area.

It is conservatively estimated that there are more than 900,000 Negroes in this area today.

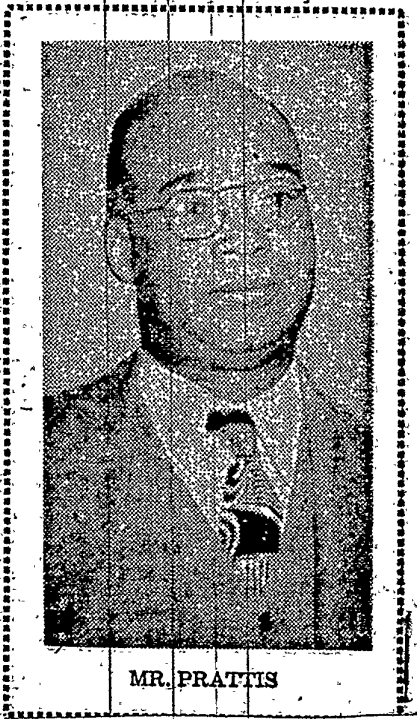
Since 1950, the Negro population of the Chicago area has been increasing at the rate of FIVE THOUSAND A MONTH — from births, in-migration and the very aged.

Robert Rosenbluth, assistant director and statistician for the Cook County Department of Welfare, estimates the present Negro population at 670,000.

Mr. Rosenbluth's estimate is based upon the projections of the highly regarded Chicago Inventory, sponsored by the University of Chicago.

Population Increase Is Doubled

But the Chicago Inventory projections were based upon the rate of Negro population increase between 1940 and 1950.



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Actually, the rate of increase during the past five years has been exactly twice what it was in the decade used as a base by the Inventory.

The Tribune figures come from up-to-date scientific sampling. The Inventory figures come from census bases which are demonstrably misleading.

But, take it or leave it, Chicago has come to grips with a Negro population that must be between 670,000 and 754,000.

The most acute problem created by this large and rapid increase in population is in housing. This is marked by a flight of whites to the suburbs. Negroes are taking over (buying or renting) property formerly occupied by whites within the city limits.

20,000 Negroes Per Sq. Mile

The population density of whites within the city is 10,000 per square mile of Negroes, 20,000 per square mile.

A Chicago block contains about 200 dwelling units. Last October, James C. Downs, Jr., the Mayor's Housing Coordinator, stated that Negroes had formerly been taking over 200 dwelling units vacated by whites every ten days. In October, they were taking over 200 such units EVERY FIVE DAYS.

But they are taking them over at a terrific price!

"When a Negro moves into a former white dwelling unit he must pay ONE HUNDRED PER CENT MORE for it," explained Francis McPeek, chairman of the Human Relations Commission, explosively.

This writer tried to induce Mr. McPeek to stand by a more conservative figure, but he was reluctant. He proceeded to give one example after another, actual cases, where Negroes were being charged three, four and five times as much as whites.

Mortgages Are Hard to Get

Mr. McPeek and his able assistant, Douglas Turner, also emphasized the blighting effect of lending restrictions on Negro ownership and occupancy in the city of Chicago.

This writer was told that Negroes find it extremely difficult (almost impossible) to borrow mortgage money to purchase homes and are forced to pay exorbitant interest rates when they do obtain loans.

McPeek and Turner were emphatically supported later when this writer talked to Bolin V. Bland, president of the DuSable Real Estate Company, about whom there will be more next week.

(Continued Next Week)

Citizens' Councils and States Rights Movement

Griffin Calls for Revolt Against Major Parties

SHREVEPORT, La., Feb. 24 (AP)—Georgia Gov. Marvin Griffin called last night for an all-out war against both major political parties, charging they "are trying to see which can sink the knife deepest in the back" of the South.

The attempts of both Democrats and Republicans to aid the forces of integration will be successful, he said, "unless the people of the South unite and fight for our way of life."

"It's about time we let some of our Congressmen know that they are supposed to represent the South in Washington, instead of representing Washington in their own districts," he continued as he addressed the organizational meeting of the Shreveport Citizens' Council.

J. Eugene Cook, Georgia attorney general, also spoke at the meeting and termed the United States Supreme Court's anti-school segregation decision "the most vicious rape of Anglo-Saxon jurisprudence in the history of free nations."

"If we have to make the choice between public schools and private schools," Gov. Griffin said in referring to his own State, "then we'll have private schools. And if they knock out private schools and we have to choose between integrated schools and no schools at all, then we'll have no schools at all."

Gov. Griffin labeled the court's

decision an attempt to tyrannize the South and said, "If they can force us to integrate our schools, then they can knock out every State law banning mixed marriages and from what I know of the Supreme Court, they would do it, too," he said.

Population Shifting, Editors Are Told

ATHENS, Ga., Feb. 24 (AP)—Georgia editors were told today that while the segregation issue has been drawing so much attention, there has been a diffusion of the minority race in the South.

Don Shoemaker, director of the Southern Education Reporting Service, said the South is experiencing a great out-migration of population relative to the national norm.

"The Negro population of our region increased only about 1.5 per cent from 1940 to 1950," he said, "while outside the South it increased some 56 per cent."

Mr. Shoemaker spoke at the annual meeting of the Georgia Press Institute.

He said that by working with

the service he had learned that the American people are "hungry for facts" and questioned whether that craving is being satisfied.

"Are we letting the magazines take over our (the newspaper's) biggest business, which is informing the public?" he asked.

He urged newspapers to concentrate on reporting news and reverse the trend of some papers toward more and more entertainment, more amusement, and toward the syndicated feature rather than the expository news item to fit the space.

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Give Georgia's Governor A Big Welcome Tonight

Shreveport should give a warm and cordial welcome to Governor Marvin Griffin of Georgia, and other Georgia state officials who will be here today to explain what Georgia and other Southern states are doing in the fight to maintain segregation through statutory and constitutional means.

Gov. Griffin will be the chief speaker— with several other notables, both local and out of town, on the program—at a public mass meeting at Byrd High School Auditorium at 8 o'clock tonight under sponsorship of the Shreveport Citizens Council.

The local Citizens Council, headed by officers and directors who are among the city's better known citizens, is part of the general southwide organization of Citizens Councils which is growing rapidly and now functions in virtually all southern states.

Unlike several other anti-integration groups set up in the South recently, the Citizens Councils are in no way secret organizations.

They are pledged to function in the open, with the identity of all officers and members made public, and to seek their objectives *only* by statutory and constitutional means.

If the Councils can be held to that line, they can be of invaluable service to the South in the tense conditions created by the Supreme Court segregation decision.

Gov. Griffin's state of Georgia, along with Virginia, Alabama and South Carolina, have adopted interposition as their official stand against the Supreme Court anti-segregation decision and its order for enforcement.

In each of these states the State Legislature officially has adopted resolutions based in principle on the Virginia and Kentucky resolutions in the early days of the nation against what then was considered unconstitutional federal intrusion into state affairs.

The present day position of interposition by various states simply means that these states interpose themselves between their own people and a federal action involving those people—an action held by the states to be unwarranted by the federal Constitution; in this case the U.S. Supreme

Court's action ordering an end to segregation in public schools.

The fundamental principle involved is the contention of the interposing states that there is nothing in the Constitution to place the handling of state educational matters under federal control and that this could be done only through a constitutional amendment.

The interposition resolutions call upon the federal government—through the federal Congress—to submit to the states a constitutional amendment giving the federal government the power which has been assumed in the Supreme Court decision.

Such an amendment could be passed only through approval by a three-fourths majority of the 48 states.

In other words, if 13 states failed to approve, the amendment would fail and segregation by individual state action would be permissible legally through failure to muster a sufficient majority of states in opposition to it.

Interposition thus is based on the federal Constitution's provision that the federal government possesses only such power as *the states themselves give to it* and that it cannot assume authority not specifically delegated to it by collective action of the states.

The interposition resolutions passed by Georgia, Virginia, Alabama, and South Carolina are identical in intent, although each is different in wording and each contains some features not found in the others.

The Georgia resolution specifically terms the Supreme Court decision null and void.

The Alabama resolution not only terms it null and void but announces the intent of the state to "resist" any attempt at enforcement.

The Virginia resolution does not use the phrase "null and void" but specifically demands that a constitutional amendment giving the federal government power to integrate the races in schools be submitted to the 48 states.

Georgia's action on segregation carries additional interest because of the important place of that state in the fabric of the Union of States. The independent colony of Georgia was established in 1732. As a State, Georgia adopted its present Constitution and school system in 1777, making that school system one of the oldest in the nation. Georgia was the fourth state of the original 13 to adopt the federal Constitution and join the Republic.

So far as tonight's Citizens Council public mass meeting is concerned the point is not whether Georgia and other states are taking the best course through interposi-

DON EWING, EDITOR
 THE SHREVEPORT TIMES
 SHREVEPORT, LA.
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tion, or whether Citizens Councils as now formed are the wisest step. What the meeting will do is make available a lot of information on both subjects.

Gov. Griffin will be accompanied to Shreveport by Eugene Cook, Attorney-General of Georgia; John S. Bell, Chairman of the Georgia Democratic Executive Committee; Roy Harris, Commissioner of Education of Georgia, and others active in Georgia's pro-segregation efforts.

The fact that such an imposing delegation is coming from another state at the request of local citizens makes it all the more important that a warm and cordial welcome be extended through sizable attendance at tonight's Byrd High Auditorium meeting.

It also makes it regrettable that Governor-Designate Earl Long, Lt. Gov. Designate Lethar Frazar and Attorney-General Designate Jack Gremillion all declined invitations to attend tonight's meeting. They are the state officials who will have the major responsibility in Louisiana's segregation course in the next four years.

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A VERY PROPER VETO

Gov. Coleman showed good judgment in vetoing the law he had previously recommended seeking to prevent Federal agents from making investigations of alleged civil rights violations in this state.

Recent events have shown conclusively that the Federal government does not intend to listen. Dr. T. R. M. Howard, Mamie Bradley, or other racial agitators who demand a "civil rights" investigation every time a Negro gets killed, no matter what the circumstances surrounding the killing may be. J. Edgar Hoover is keeping his head squarely between his shoulders and he doesn't seem to mind the insolent and insulting remarks made about him by racial agitators.

The bill may have seemed a good idea at the moment but its authors, among them being Speaker Walter Sillers, wisely concluded that it embodied too much zeal and they cordially approve the Governor's veto.

"It may be safely said that the FBI and its agents still enjoy admiration, co-operation and respect of all law-abiding citizens," says Gov. Coleman.

Immediately following the "Black Monday" decision of the Supreme Court the NAACP leaders were seized with the foolish idea that they could make peremptory demands on the Department of Justice and have its agents harass Southern states with investigations whenever a crime involving a Negro was committed. Now they are upbraiding and bitterly denouncing Attorney-General Brownell and FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover for not responding immediately to their demands.

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The People Who 'Don't Give A Damn'

(AN EDITORIAL)

The Supreme Court decision is a just subject for righteous wrath, yet too many citizens in all parts of our nation are calm, apathetic, indifferent, and don't seem to give a damn. They are mentally lazy or intellectually unable to grasp what the ruling means to the American way of life.

If there was ever a time for a general awakening in the United States that time is now.

Indifference on a matter of such moment is hardly short of criminal.

Apathy is an infallible symptom of mental and national breakdown.

What the USA needs is more guts and more spine stiffening.

Men die of hardening of the arteries, Nations die because courage and patriotism no longer flows freely in the veins of the people.

If we are to gain our rights for which we contend we can do so only through an awakening of the people and manifestation of a courageous fighting spirit.

Our resistance to the integration decision is not a parlor game or in any way akin to a mild and innocuous outdoor sport. It is fraught with the deepest meaning. It requires a stubborn will power, a determination to do and dare, a rugged fighting spirit.

There have been frequent instances in history where the civilization of a nation crumbled about the people's ears and perished in dreamless dust because of lack of fighting courage in the hearts and minds of the people.

This is a time for thinking and that thinking must be followed by action.

The chief concern of every white citizen in Mississippi right now should be the preservation of our traditional ways of life, our right to choose those with whom they shall mingle, and amid what environment they may raise their children.

We cannot be concerned with any-

thing more important than the prevention of miscegenation, mixed marriages, mongrelization, and all the other evils that will inevitably follow in the trail of integration.

The duty facing us is clearly defined—a white race fighting for the supremacy it has always enjoyed.

Guts—just plain guts—and ramrod backbones is what we must have if we hope to win.

How about it, Mr. John Citizen?

Are you going to be out on the firing line or will you be skulking in the bushes?

Mississippi's real leaders in this fight against miscegenation, mixed marriages, mongrelization and wholesale bastardy are out in the open and waging war on two battlefronts—in Washington and here in our home state.

These leaders are our Governor, our two Senators, our six members of Congress, our Citizens Councils, and substantial citizens, both men and women, everywhere. It is to their voices we should listen, and not the twaddle being talked by wishy-washy people who prate about "academic freedom," and "freedom of thought and of speech," and similar nonsense.

Puny parsons who prattle imbecilic propaganda in pulpits about obedience to the Supreme Court segregation decision being a "manifestation of the Christian spirit" ought to have their pulpits kicked from under them and their tongues silenced. Christianity has nothing whatever to do with it. This is a fight for sane existence, for perpetuation of the purity of the white race.

Our beloved South and its traditional and firmly-established Southern way of life confront the gravest danger they have faced since reconstruction days.

This is true—true as Holy Writ. In this fight you are either for us or against us. There is no middle ground.

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Nothing Secret:

Rotarians Told Purposes, Aims Of Citizens Councils

The principles and personnel of the Jackson branch of Citizens Councils was revealed before a record-breaking audience at Monday's meeting of the local Rotary Club.

In a calm, dispassionate voice William J. Simmons, secretary of the local Citizens Council, made the Rotarians and their guests fully acquainted with the objects and purposes of the organization. Not for a long time has a speaker appeared before the local Rotary Club who received closer attention.

"For every Negro who wants to leave the South there is at least one white person in the North who wants to come South because they are tired of existing conditions in the North," said Mr. Simmons. He made particular reference to present strained race relations in Chicago, Detroit, New York, and other large cities where racial strife is becoming increasingly frequent.

Mr. Simmons is a native of Hinds county, graduate of the Jackson Central High School and Mississippi College, and was for some time connected with the state department. He is a son of Mr. David Simmons, well-known local financier.

The Citizen's Council organization had its origin at Indianola, in this state, and has since been spreading rapidly. Local organizations exist in eight other states.

The principal purpose of the Citizen Councils, said Mr. Simmons, is to oppose the declared purpose of the NAACP to bring about complete integration throughout the nation—in other words, to establish social equality.

Mr. Simmons gave a brief his-

tory of the NAACP from its founding in 1929 down to the present time. It is made up of leftists, radicals, church groups and labor elements and seventeen members of its present board of directors are known to have, or have had, Communist affiliations.

"One of our objectives is to furnish information in order that the public will know what to do," said Mr. Simmons. "Moreover, we want it known that the ultimate decision of this question rests with white people, not Negroes. We know their purpose is to abolish segregation in all forms, in every walk of life, and that is something the South will never do."

Mr. Simmons, in answer to a direct question, said that Citizens Councils have no rituals, no passwords, no secret meetings, and nothing whatever to conceal. Its meetings are open to anybody who cares to attend. It is not in any sense a revival of the Old Klu Klux Klan, he said.

The speaker named the chairman of the major committees of the council, which is now headed by Mr. Ellis Wright, past president of Rotary, and one of Jackson's most outstanding citizens. Committee heads are as follows:

Legal: N. W. Overstreet Jr., president of the Hinds County Bar Association;

Membership: W. E. Pleasants, formerly city passenger agent of the Illinois Central.

Public Relations and Information: George Godwin, president of the Godwin Advertising agency.

Mr. Simmons said the citizens of Jackson would be profoundly surprised if they knew what was going on among Negroes in Jackson in support of the purposes of the NAACP.

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Will [signature]

Leadership By Default

A vast majority of Alabamians we believe are for moderation in dealing with our growing race problem but, with no organization to speak for them, the level-headed leadership they should be offering is likely to go by default to the extremists.

No one who has watched developments of the past two weeks can fail to be alarmed.

We are very definitely headed for trouble—trouble which can be avoided if moderates among white and Negro citizens alike will make the avoidance of trouble their business.

If the NAACP insists on pushing its present plans it can expect to meet with resistance equally firm and just as extreme. But if it really has the welfare of the Southern Negro at heart it will recognize the injury it is doing him and change its policy.

the courts which have made ex-

excursions into the realm of psychology and sociology in arriving at their decisions are interested in the peace and progress of the country they, too, will take a new look at the damage they have done.

In the meantime our community might watch with profit a new organization which has just been formed in Memphis representing citizens of moderate view who are working for the common good. It is still too new to judge its effectiveness but its possibilities as a brake on irresponsibility appeal to us.

We remember well the help a similar but smaller organization in Birmingham gave several years ago in blocking the attempted revival of the Klan.

That effort was effective because it had the backing of a majority of our citizens. For the same reason we believe a similar approach now to the race problem is indicated.

BIRMINGHAM POST-HERALD
Birmingham, Alabama
February 20, 1956
Editorial
JAMES E. MILLS - Editor

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Nat Williams Reports:
**Negroes Are Deserting
 Lower Mississippi
 Delta by Thousands**

By NAT D. WILLIAMS

Tens of thousands of Negroes are currently leaving the Lower Mississippi Delta of the Deep South area of the United States.

From the canebrakes of Louisiana and the cotton fields of Mississippi . . . from the rice paddies of Arkansas and the low grounds of West Tennessee . . . from the red clay expanses of Alabama . . . they ride! Not the "Freedom Train," but the "Fast Train" . . . to Chicago, Detroit, Milwaukee, Gary, Cleveland! Straight North!

With a stream-lined touch, thousands of men, women, and children are reenacting many features reminiscent of the "Great Migration" of the 1920's.



MR. WILLIAMS

The ten to fourteen-car Illinois Central's crack "City of New Orleans," daily carries hundreds of Negroes out of Dixie's Delta country. Negroes, from New Orleans to Chicago, call the "City" the "Fast Train." Other I. C. trains, and passenger coaches on other roads, are filled with these travelers. Buses take a sizeable share. Second-hand and new cars provide conveyance for some. Some of the upper crust have flown out of the Delta, and its immediately adjacent area by plane.

Where Are They Going . . . and Why?

In answer to the questions: "Who are these people? Where are they coming from in particular? Where are they going? And why?" . . . one obviously literate Northbound traveler said: "They are refugees from the tension areas seething behind the 'Iron Curtain' of Deep South race patterns, on their way to traditionally less painful regions."

Pittsburgh, Pa.
 PRESS
 SUN-TELEGRAPH
 POST-GAZETTE
 COURIER
 Date 2/12/56
 Edition New York
 Page 3
 Column 1-3
 Author of Article
NAT D. WILLIAMS
 Editor (on editorials)
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CITIZENS COUNCILS AND STATES RIGHTS MOVEMENTS

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Are they afraid? Are they sad? Are they glad to be riding the "Fast Train" and leaving? Are they mad at anybody?

Or, are they resignedly and realistically adjusting themselves to a peculiar fate growing out of twentieth-century America's "peculiar institution," racial discrimination and its attendant developments?

What was behind this increased acceleration of the Negro's traditional migration from the South? What basic reasons did these native Southerners have for becoming this nation's version of "displaced persons" seeking sanctuaries for survival? Why would they leave the land of their birth and breeding to risk the uncertainties of life in big Northern cities in the middle of gripping winter cold?

Nat Williams Rides the 'Fast Train'

In order to gather from the "grass-roots" sources the personal, from the heart answers to some of these questions, The Pittsburgh Courier dispatched this reporter to ride the "City of New Orleans" during a week-end peak in the migratory movement of these Negro "D. P's."

The result was a medley of interesting responses, ranging from the prattle of baby brother to the broken musings of grandmother. The tempo of the tension displayed from individual to individual varied, but the doleful melody attached to the lyrics was fairly consistent. It bore the shadings of tragedy. For the majority of those interviewed did not relish the idea of leaving "home." All the reasons they gave suggested some form of duress . . . either economic or psychological.

Starting at Greenville, Miss., The Courier's reporter spent some fourteen hours talking to scores of dark-skinned travelers . . . all headed North. Boarding the "City" at packed Grand Central Station in Memphis, after an auto trip from Greenville, the reporter got a closer close-up to the reactions of Southern Negroes on the move.

One of the most striking first impressions gained was the over-all attitude, manner, and appearance of the travelers. They were not living up to the mental picture past tradition has given of the rural Negro from the South traveling.

(CONTINUED NEXT WEEK)

CITIZENS COUNCILS AND STATES RIGHTS MOVEMENTS

P. L. Prattis Reports: Over 900,000 Negroes Now Live in Chicago; Migration Swells Ranks

By P. L. PRATTIS

Chicago is a healthy, buxom, hopeful woman being sparked by a man, a stranger man. Chicago is playing coy with this stranger man. She needs a man, or manpower, but she doesn't want a man who's going to really overwhelm her, compound her problems and fill her future with "worriments."

This man who is pounding on the door of Chicago is the symbol of the thousands and thousands of new Negroes who are migrating to Chicago, steadily, month after month, from Mississippi and other Southern states.

How many of them are there? Who knows? Nobody! Off-the-cuff reports reached The Courier that, as a result of the Till lynching and other murders in Mississippi, and of the repressive actions of the Citizens Councils, trainloads of Mississippi Negroes were flocking to Chicago by way of the Illinois Central Railroad.



Chicago was being dubbed as a "new promised land" and the Illinois Central Station in Chicago became, in the vernacular, the "gateway" to the promised land.

Some reports came to The Courier that there were 10,000 Negroes reaching Chicago monthly.

Aware of the fact that whether the figure was three thousand, five thousand or ten thousand, a population movement of great social significance was occurring, The Courier determined to dig into the matter for the benefit of its readers in Chicago and elsewhere.

The Courier was fortunate in discovering that the new executive secretary of the Urban League in Chicago, Edwin C. Berry, had an interest and concern in this migration phenomenon which was identical with its own.

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Pittsburgh, Pa.

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COURIER

Date 2/18/56

Edition 1 New York

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Column 3-5

Author of Article P.L. PRATTIS

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Simmons Describes Councils To Prominent Religious Editor

By CARL WELCH

An Illinois churchman, who some months ago advocated that each Protestant denomination send missionaries to the South, Wednesday afternoon interviewed W. J. Simmons, secretary of the Miss. Assn. of Citizens Councils.

Dr. H. E. Fey, editor of "The Christian Century," was in Jackson Tuesday and Wednesday as part of a short tour through the South to gather first-hand information on the racial situation.

Dr. Fey, then associate editor of the non-denominational "Century," advocated the sending of missionaries to the South in a speech before a National Council of Churches meeting in Pennsylvania last November.

During Wednesday's interview with Simmons, Dr. Fey asked numerous questions concerning the nature, operation, and purpose of the councils.

Following are printed verbatim some of the questions put to Simmons and his answers to Fey:

Fey—Does your state organization serve more or less in a public relations capacity?

Simmons—Yes. Fey—Are economic functions used to bring about the purposes of the councils?

Simmons—The councils have never advocated any organized economic boycott. There have been a few cases where economic pressure has been used against an individual. However, these have been individual actions and not actions of any council.

Fey—What is the general makeup of the councils?

Simmons—I can say here that the councils have been attacked many times, but the feeling among the membership has been that the character of the persons associated with the councils is proof enough

of the councils' character. Fey—In other words, the councils' membership is made up of local leaders?

Simmons—Yes, that has been the policy of the councils.

Fey—Does the local group choose its own membership?

Simmons—Yes, though the state organization constantly advises the local people and we have urged that they do not form a council in any community until they are sure they have responsible and capable leadership. Aside from any moral consideration, it must be admitted that no organization can be successful without leadership. Each council has a board of directors and in the Jackson Citizens' Council, as in many others, the directors can disband the council without the consent of the membership.

Fey—Why is this so?

Simmons—This is one more safeguard to ensure that the councils not be misused.

Fey—In other words, if the directors should decide that the character of the council was bad, they could chop it off?

Simmons—Yes. A number of other topics were covered during the more than an hour Dr. Fey was in Simmons' office, most of them connected with the organization of the councils.

However, some other questions were asked concerning the work of the councils, too lengthy to report in their entirety.

Among them was an inquiry from Dr. Fey concerning petitions submitted in Vicksburg, Clarksdale, Natchez, and Jackson in 1954, in which Negroes asked that children of their race be admitted to white schools.

According to Dr. Fey, a speaker at the National Council of Churches fall meeting in Pennsylvania last year claimed numerous of the signers of the petitions lost their jobs.

Simmons replied that this was true. However, he said, the councils were not directly responsible. In Vicksburg, Simmons said, the city in question, there is no Citizens' Council. Simmons added that the councils could be indirectly responsible in that they have called to the attention of the public the NAACP and its work.

A circular which Simmons had on hand printed by the American

Council of Christian Laymen, listed Dr. Fey's name with several others, as members of Communist front organizations.

According to the circular, Dr. Fey is one of the "present and past officers, leaders and prominent members of the Federal Council who have aided and abetted God-hating, un-American organizations."

Dr. Fey, interviewed after his conversation with Simmons, denied ever having been officially connected with the National Council of Churches. (The magazine which he edits is published as a non-denominational independent organ, supported by subscription and advertising receipts.)

And Dr. Fey said, much of what the pamphlet says concerning his organizational membership is incorrect.

The pamphlet lists Dr. Fey as a member of the American Civil Liberties Union, Emergency Peace Mobilization, Fellowship of Reconciliation, National Religion and Labor Foundation, Socialist Party and United Christian Council for Democracy.

He has been a member of only two of these, states Dr. Fey, and has never been affiliated with, or friendly to the interests of, either the Communist or the Socialist party.

Dr. Fey said he plans to use the information gleaned on his Southern trip as material for articles in his magazine and implied he plans to use the knowledge of the racial situation which he gains during his trip as a basis for interpretation of future reports from the South.

"My magazine recognizes two sides to every question," Dr. Fey said, "and I am here to hear the South's side of the controversy."

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THE CLARION-LFDGER
JACKSON, MISS.
2/16/56
Page 1 Cols. 2 - 4
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68 MAR 6

MR. PRATTIS

Without the aid of Mr. Berry and of his able and veteran public relations assistant, Frayser T. Lane, The Courier could not have obtained the information for this series of articles about the Chicago Negro population of today.

Chicago Bursting at Her Seams

One of the most startling facts which The Courier survey has uncovered is that, as of now, there are nearly a million Negroes in the standard metropolitan area of Chicago and more than **THREE QUARTERS OF A MILLION** Negroes in Chicago proper.

Experts and statisticians will differ as to what is the exact figure.

But one important figure that must be remembered is that the Negro population in the metropolitan area in the last five years, according to Francis McPeck, director of the Chicago Human Relations Commission, has increased by more than 290,000.

The average monthly increase during the past five years—from births, immigrants and the very aged, has been five thousand.

In April of 1955, the Research Division of the Chicago Tribune completed a survey of population by households. This survey showed that there were 833,400 Negroes in metropolitan Chicago. Transients were not counted.

Ten and one-half months have elapsed since then. It is reasonable to assume that another 52,500 Negroes have entered Chicago to make a present gross total of approximately 886,000, minus transients.

Most informed persons to whom this writer talked felt that a present estimate of 900,000 Negroes in metropolitan Chicago is conservative.

It is obvious that Chicago and its environs have had to receive and try to absorb a third of a million Negroes in the last five years.

How well prepared is Chicago to receive these newcomers and to solve the problems they create? What is Chicago's attitude toward them? How are the Negro migrants stacking up against those from Puerto Rico? These questions will be answered in succeeding articles.

(CONTINUED NEXT WEEK)

Simmons Denies He Led Mob

Daily Worker Made Charge

By ROBERT WEBB
State Times Staff Writer

Citizens Council Administrator W. J. Simmons yesterday denied a Communist newspaper charge that he incited the mob violence against Negro student Atherine Lucy at the University of Alabama.

Shortly after issuing his denial, Simmons was interviewed by Dr. H. E. Fey, the Chicago churchman-editor who has urged that North-ern Protestants dispatch mission-aries to the South.

Simmons was blamed for the Alabama incident in the Feb. 12 New York-Harlem edition of the "Daily Worker."

The story was headlined "Mississippi Racist overheard Adviser in Tuscaloosa Mob Leader." Another headline said, "Worker Reporter in Kleagle's Office as he Phone-Talks."

By-lined Virginia Gardner, the story claimed the demonstration against the Negro girl was the result of Citizens Council conspira-tors.

The article said, in part:

"It was the hand of the White Citizens Councils, the new race-hate organization of the South, that directed the assault upon Miss Atherine Lucy, the University of Alabama's first Negro student, and upon University officials who enrolled her. . . A "Worker report-er Virginia Gardner was seated in the Jackson, Miss. office of W. J. Simmons, chief of the new KKK outfit, when he discussed over the phone with an unnamed Alabama caller the US district court order that the Negroes must be now ad-mitted to the University of Ala-bama. . ."

'Advised Caller'
"(Simmons) advised his caller to order the dean not to answer a court summons on barring Negroes. . . and have 'em kick that woman out."

In reply, Simmons said the Worker reporter had represented herself to him as a free lance writer, covering up her true status.

"While she was waiting outside in the reception office," he asserted, "a long distance phone conver-sation was in progress between a

(See SIMMONS on Page 12A)

Simmons . . .

gentleman in Birmingham, Ala., who had called to inquire the new address of the state association of- fice in Greenwood and (myself).

He accused the reporter of "sub-terfuge" and resorting to "plain old-fashioned eavesdropping to get just enough local color to decorate their smear campaign against pa- triotic Americans. . ."

Simmons said he had granted the woman an interview.

Dr. Fey, editor of "The Chris- tian Century," questioned Sim- mons on all phases of Citizens Council operation, declaring "I am here to hear the South's side of the controversy."

Simmons denied the oft-heard charge that the Councils advocate organized economic boycotts and said boards of directors of the lo- cal groups are empowered to dis- solve their organizations "any time they see fit."

In answer to reporters' ques- tions after his interview with Simmons, Dr. Fey denied having belonged to six Communist-front organizations listed by the Ameri- can Council of Christian Laymen.

The editor said he had belonged to only two and that he had never sympathized with Communist or Socialist ambitions.

- Mr. Tolson
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- Mr. Belmont
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- Mr. Parsons
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STATE TIMES
JACKSON, MISS.
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Commies Say Jacksonian Advised Alabama Rioters

Say Simmons Leads New KKK

Reds Lambast Citizens Councils

By CARL WELCH

W. J. Simmons, secretary of the Mississippi Association of Citizens' Councils, in his office here Wednesday afternoon, displayed to reporters a copy of a Communist newspaper which called him "the new chief of the KKK."

The headline emblazoned across the front page of the Feb. 12 New York-Harlem edition of the "Worker" read, "MISSISSIPPI RACIST OVERHEARD 'ADVISING' TUSCALOOSA MOB LEADER."

And on page five of the newspaper the headline read, "WORKER REPORTER IN KLEAGLE'S OFFICE AS HE PHONE-TALKS."

The text of the article was as follows: "It was the hand of the White Citizens Councils, the new race-hate organization of the South, that directed the assault upon Miss. Autherine Lucy, the University of Alabama's first Negro Student, and upon University officials who enrolled her. It was due to the conspiracy of the White Citizens Council, that a threatening atmosphere was established, so that students and school officials would fear for their lives. A Worker reporter, Virginia Gardner, was seated in the Jackson, Mississippi, office of W. J. Simmons, chief of the new KKK outfit, when he discussed over the phone with an unnamed Alabama caller the U. S. District Court order that Negroes must be now ad-

mitted to the University of Alabama.

"Simmons was gleeful that his caller was organizing 'in that part of Alabama.' He advised his caller to order the Dean not to answer a court summons on barring Negroes, making his excuse the 'safety' of his person and the

(Continued on Page 10)
(Continued from Page 1)

school. Simmons concluded this conversation with the final admonition: "And have 'em kick that n---r woman out." (Miss Gardner's interview with Simmons will appear in full in next week's Worker).

"The riots at the University were decried by the students, the faculty, and by the local Tuscaloosa press, and petitions circulated among the 10,000 students demanded the punishment of the students who took part in the three rock-throwing, cross-burning demonstrations on the campus.

Simmons issued a statement Wednesday in answer to the "Worker" article:

"About ten days ago a young woman who represented herself to be from Arlington, Virginia, and a free lance writer for several trade journals came into the Jackson office of the Citizens' Council. It later developed that this young woman was in fact a reporter for THE DAILY WORKER. While she was waiting outside in the reception office, a long distance phone conversation was in progress between a gentleman in Birmingham, Alabama, who had called to inquire the new address of the State Association office in Greenwood and W. J. Simmons, Administrator of the Citizens' Councils.

"Upon completion of the telephone conversation, Simmons granted an interview to the 'free lance' writer.

"On February 12th THE NEW YORK-HARLEM edition of THE WORKER printed the article shown above.

"In connection with this inci-

dent W. J. Simmons has issued the following statement: "The Citizens' Council has always followed a policy of complete frankness with the press. Subterfuge has never been necessary to obtain information. It is interesting to note the hysterical outbursts of the left wing anti-anti-communists against wire tapping by the FBI and other proper law enforcing agencies in gathering evidence on subversive activities, while the Communists and their fellow travelers will resort to plain old-fashion eavesdropping to get just enough local color to decorate their smear campaign against patriotic Americans who oppose the party line.

"Do our people here in Mississippi need to be shown more clearly who is behind the vicious hate campaign now being waged against our State and against the South?

"Here we have Communists on our very doorstep fanning the flames of racial hatred and internal strife.

"The Communists and their front groups can never be appeased. This is a struggle for survival. All white men and women who do not wish to see these subversive elements ride into power over a crushed and integrated South are urgently invited to join their Citizens' Council immediately.

"Join your fellow citizens and neighbors who are fighting YOUR fight, to protect your children, your teenage daughters, your homes and businesses, and your personal freedom.

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THE CLARION-LEDGER
JACKSON, MISS.
2/16/56
Page 1 Section 1

71 MAR 8 1956

No Time for Irresponsibility

Inevitable perhaps, but regrettable and extremely unwise, are efforts of those who seek political advantage by injecting the school segregation issue into the presidential campaign.

The week-end statement of Gov. Averell Harriman of New York reveals his complete ignorance of dangers which underlie growing and deeply disturbing tensions in the South. His viewpoint is not surprising but his failure to evaluate the effect of what he advocates is cause for alarm.

How much more thoughtful and responsible is the position taken by Adlai Stevenson who counseled removal of the segregation issue from the "emotional coloration of a presidential contest."

"I can think of no greater disservice to our country," said Mr. Stevenson, "than to exploit for political ends the tensions which have followed in the wake of the Supreme Court decision."

How much more reasonable and realistic is the position taken by President Eisenhower who Governor Harriman made the target of his thoughtlessness.

The issue of segregation goes far deeper than any man's politics in a vast area of our country populated by more than 35 million of our people.

It is not a problem to be viewed lightly by any citizen nor should its explosiveness be underestimated.

The great pity of it is the wedge it is driving between citizens of goodwill of both races and its great setback to mutual understanding and improving race relations in the South.

We are witnessing with mixed concern of misgiving and hope the rise of Citizens Councils and similar organizations throughout the South.

Our hope is that they always will be guided and directed by citizens who stand uncompromisingly for law and order. Our misgivings stem from the ever present danger of deterioration into the lawless pattern of the Klan.

* * *

We are concerned by hate-filled, inflammatory literature imported by one "Council" for distribution along with its membership application blanks.

If it is true literature circulated by the NAACP is just as harmful and inflammatory.

Some will argue that we must be fought with fire but if the Citizens Councils are to function on the high plane outlined by the original organizers, the breeding of hate can have no place in them.

There is no wrong in organizing to oppose those organized to uproot and destroy Southern tradition. There is great danger if leadership gets into the wrong hands.

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| Mr. Nease | ✓ |
| Mr. Winterrowd | ✓ |
| Tele. Room | ✓ |
| Mr. Holloman | ✓ |
| Miss Gandy | ✓ |

Handwritten notes and signatures:
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 Mr. Tolson
 Mr. Boardman
 Mr. Parsons
 Mr. Rosen
 Mr. Winterrowd
 Mr. Holloman
 Miss Gandy
 B. J. [unclear]
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BIRMINGHAM POST HERALD
 BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA
 FEBRUARY 14, 1956
 EDITORIAL
 JAMES E. MILLS-EDITOR

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Today and Tomorrow • By Walter Lippmann

Integration in Politics

THERE IS mounting evidence of grave trouble ahead over integration in the public schools of the Southern States. For in recent weeks we have come nearer to the question which can divide the country dangerously. Is the decision of the Supreme Court to be put into effect gradually and with the eventual consent of the leaders of Southern opinion or is the Federal Government to be called upon to enforce integration against the resistance of the South?



Lippmann

This question poses as fateful a dilemma as any internal American question that has arisen for several generations. It arouses great human passions which cannot be reconciled, which can only be assuaged and accommodated in this generation. They are passions which boil up quickly into violence, and they can be kept within bounds only when and only while there is great wisdom and resolution in the leaders of the country.

The temptation to play politics with these passions is almost overpowering. And it is the approach of the national election, the struggle between the two parties and also the struggle within the parties, particularly within the Democratic Party, which have brought the dilemma to the surface.

IT IS significant that the closer a public man is to the Presidency, the more will he shrink from the idea of Federal enforcement, as distinguished from persuasion and accommodation. Gov. Stevenson has been notably firm and decisive and the President,

though his words were a bit cloudy, is certainly not considering intervention by the Federal executive power. It is the politicians, the men who have little or no prospect of themselves being in the White House and bearing the President's responsibility, who are heating up the issue.

There is no likelihood that the Republicans in Congress will agree to take the issue out of politics. For it is a most damaging issue to raise among the Democrats. Nor is there much likelihood that Gov. Stevenson's rivals for the nomination will forbear to raise it. It is such an easy way to make things difficult for him.

The issue will have to be debated in the open. The fundamental question to be debated is whether integration is to be promoted by persuasion or by Federal enforcement. These are two different roads, and no one should think he can go down both of them at once.

CONSIDER, for example, the Powell amendment which would withhold Federal aid from states or school districts that do not integrate their schools. Let no one suppose that the Southern states will give in and accept integrated schools because some Federal money is withheld from them. To suppose that they will give in is to mistake the temper of the South, particularly the temper of the deep South.

What, then, are Rep. Joseph L. Martin and Gov. Harriman going to propose next, once they find that withholding money does not induce the Southern states to yield? If they start on the path of coercion, the authority of the executive power will be engaged and new measures of coercion will be demanded to uphold that authority. For unless the Federal Government is going to confess that

it is beaten, it must taking the path of Federal enforcement—become more and more coercive.

No one should doubt that the attempt at Federal enforcement will intensify and harden the resistance of the South. Those who are disposed to try to work out integration gradually will resent the Federal Government's efforts to coerce them. The problem of integration will become progressively more insoluble in the South, the racial passions will become increasingly sharp, the sectional feeling increasingly disruptive.

Let us stop and think before we let irresponsible politicians push us into the whirlpool.

THE WAY things are developing is a reason for asking ourselves whether the decision of the Supreme Court does not need to be supplemented. As it stands now, the question of what constitutes a "prompt and reasonable start towards full compliance" is left to the judgment of the Federal Courts. Now what would be a prompt and reasonable start, say in the District of Columbia might well be impossibly hasty in Mississippi. Success in putting into effect the principle of the decision requires a program which must vary with local conditions. It is, for example, an enormous step forward when universities in the South admit Negro students. And it would be the part of wisdom in a state like Alabama to regard admission to the University as being for present purposes "a prompt and reasonable start."

The question is whether through some sort of council of eminent citizens guiding principles might be agreed upon which would give to American opinion a standard around which it could rally.

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- Mr. Boardman _____
- Mr. Nichols _____
- Mr. Belmont _____
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- Mr. Mohr _____
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CITIZENS COUNCILS OF MISSISSIPPI

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CITIZENS COUNCILS

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Arkansas Will Study Virginia's Race Plans

RICHMOND, Feb. 13 (P). — A five-man delegation from Arkansas is scheduled to arrive in Richmond tomorrow to find out all it can about Virginia's plans for preventing compulsory integration in the public schools. The group, including the chairman of Arkansas' State Board of Education, has a 10 a.m. appointment with Gov. Stanley. Other Virginia officials and legislators may sit in to help brief the visitors on interposition and the Gray Commission program. Arkansas Gov. Orval Faubus has asked the delegation to report to him on its Virginia findings. His aides said Gov. Faubus was "more or less in accord" with

the Virginia approach to interposition, which would challenge the constitutionality of the United States Supreme Court's desegregation decision and ask all the States to settle the dispute by passing a constitutional amendment. The group coming here includes Marvin Bird of Earle, chairman of the Arkansas Board of Education; R. B. McCulloch of Forrest City, former member of the Arkansas Public Service Commission; J. L. Shaver of Wynne, a former Arkansas Lieutenant Governor; Charles Adams of Hughes, a member of the Arkansas Game and Fish Commission; and Bert Dickey of West Memphis, an Arkansas plan and businessman.

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Economic Warfare Rises Between Races in South

By HENRY LESESNE

ATLANTA, Ga., Feb. 11 (NANA).—Economic warfare, with no quarter given, is developing between the races in some areas of the Deep South where the Negro population is large and where tension is greatest over the integrated school issue.

These communities are learning that the boycott can be an effective weapon—and a double-edged sword. Fears are expressed that the situation may become worse before it gets better. Already it affects stores, banks and similar institutions in some towns and communities.

In a few instances, economic pressure or reprisal involves the clergy and educators. To some extent the conflict exists over a wide area; in a few scattered communities it has become acute.

The situation which has attracted most notice is the current boycott by Negroes of city buses in Montgomery, Ala. The boycott is now more than two months old, and Negro leaders say it will continue until "a year from now if necessary."

Bus Service

Negroes comprise about half proportionately are the highest the Montgomery population and users of buses. Bus service has fallen off well over 50 per cent. Retail sales are considerably un- roes walk, participate in car pools or stay at home.

Negro leaders are asking seating on a "first come, first served" basis, instead of the seating at present by "reserved seat" sections, and employment of Negro drivers on predominantly Negro lines as driver vacancies occur. Sporadic violence has punctuated the boycott.

In Orangeburg, S. C., one of the more acute situations has developed.

There, about 60 Negroes who signed a petition for desegregated schools reported members of a newly organized citizens council were exerting economic pressures on them. Certain distributors, they said, were refusing to deliver them goods. Others lost their jobs.

In reprisal, Negroes, comprising about half the population, began an organized boycott against businesses operated by Citizens' Council members. Mimeographed lists of blacklisted firms were widely distributed. In some instances, whites rallied to patronize some blacklisted firms.

Rally Staged By Klan

Racial relations rapidly deteriorated and, seizing on the situation, the revived Ku Klux Klan, known as the "U. S. Klan," an Atlanta organization, staged a rally at Orangeburg.

Negro merchants in Jackson, Tenn., in an apparently spontaneous movement recently

well as some State officials, have accused the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People of using undue pressure or even deception to obtain signatures on petitions—charges the organization denies. At any rate, quite a few signers in South Carolina communities subsequently wanted their names withdrawn, saying they didn't understand what they were signing.

Frequently it has been said that in Mississippi the NAACP is hard put to find local leaders that are not vulnerable to economic attack. But even Negro physicians and dentists and the like have reported, for instance, that their credit has suddenly been withdrawn by banks, and other pressures have been exerted on them.

The economic conflict has produced some odd twists, however. Recently a Negro newspaper in Columbia, S. C., listed the name of a prominent banker as a member of the Citizens' Council and urged Negroes to withdraw their funds from the institution with which he is connected.

Workers in the field of racial relations, as well as much of the newspaper editorial comment in such areas, hold that in these parts of the South where there is an atmosphere of brooding tension and strife, there is no room for compromise or inter-racial communication in finding a solution to the problem posed by the Supreme Court decision.

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Negro merchants in Jackson, Tenn., in an apparently spontaneous movement, recently began a boycott of a soft drink because the local bottler or distributor participated in an anti-integration legal maneuver.

The Citizens Council movement started in Mississippi immediately after the Supreme Court school decision and now has a membership of over 60,000 there. It quickly spread into Louisiana, Alabama, and other States.

It didn't get a foothold in South Carolina until a few months ago when school boards began to be peppered with school desegregation petitions. About 40 councils quickly sprang up in the lower part of the State, where the Negro population ratio is very heavy.

These councils are autonomous. Their leadership is usually topdrawer, including the more substantial citizens of a community. Some deny using economic pressure; others openly espouse it.

Responsible local officials, as

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New "Ku Klux"

THE reckless and scurrilous attack by AFL-CIO labor leaders upon the various white citizens' councils which have sprung up over the country in recent months is typical, we think, of the narrow-minded way in which the union bosses do business.

In their attacks they make no attempt to attack these councils on the basis of those principles on which they are founded. They make no appeal to reason or to moderation. Instead they brand them as a new outcropping of the Ku Klux Klan and brand them immediately with all the faults that organization ever possessed, or indeed was ever accused of.

The purpose of this article is not to defend these citizens' councils. To begin with we know too little about them. The basic principles behind their organization are just and true, we believe, but we know far too little of the details of their organization, their constitution and bylaws, or the nature of their memberships to attempt to defend them. But we do resent their being wantonly attacked on grounds which are obviously completely sentimental in nature. Such an attack is not honest, nor is it justified by the evident facts.

WE GRANT to the new superunion the right to its own opinions, even if such opinions are formulated in very limited quarters. We grant to their various leaders the right to express such opinions. But, in turn we reserve the right to disagree.

And here, we most heartily do disagree. Here, if ever we have seen it, is a case manufactured out of the whole cloth with no regard whatsoever for reason or logic. Here is a case where sentimental and ill-founded accusations are empty made with no regard whatsoever for the facts involved. The AFL-CIO in short does not even grant their victims the right to express a divergent opinion.

Such, we submit, is hardly a practical example of the working democracy which the unions so loudly espouse.

The Attorney General
C. F. Williams
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Teamsters Vow Hotel Strike Aid

Beck Picks New York For Start

Florida Products
Boycott Hinted

By **BRYAN DONALDSON**
Herald Staff Writer

Dave Beck, president of the AFL-CIO Teamsters Union, disclosed Friday that his 1,300,000-member organization will enter the 10-month-old Greater Miami hotel labor dispute "immediately."

Failure of the teamsters to lend support to the striking AFL-CIO Hotel Employees Union has been a sore point with organized labor.

Beck, attending the AFL-CIO executive council meeting in the Monte Carlo Hotel, told newsmen that his union will enter the strike picture in the New York area.

He declined to say in what fashion. However, he hinted that the teamsters may participate in a boycott of Florida products.

"Who eats the grapefruit you grow in Florida?" he asked, and answered by declaring it is the people in the North.

Beck explained that activity by the teamsters in connection with the hotel dispute would be more effective at the consumer rather than at the producer lev-

He also made it clear that the teamsters are not well enough organized in the South to do an effective job in the Miami area.

Meanwhile at his daily news conference AFL-CIO President George Meany disclosed that the council has condemned the spread of the White Citizens Councils in the South.

Union leaders described the council, grouped together under the name Federation for Constitutional Government, as "dangerously un-American and anti-democratic."

Meany said "we recognize this movement as a real danger not only because it is anti-Negro" but also because these are the same people who are anti-union.

James B. Carey, head of the AFL-CIO civil rights committee, said the WCC has a membership of 200,000 and an even larger following.

He said the pattern followed by "this new Ku Klux Klan without hoods is ominous in its resemblance to the pattern of the growth of Nazism and other totalitarian movements which fed on hatred and defied constitutional democracy."

Carey admitted that some labor unions have problems of discrimination in employment, but he said these past practices are being disregarded.

Meany disclosed that he had talked with NAM board chairman Charles Sligh Jr. in Boca Raton Friday morning about the often proposed high-level peace meeting of management and labor. He said he suggested that he and Sligh meet during the week of Feb. 20 in Washington which has agreed to Feb. 23.

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AFL-CIO Chiefs Blast 'White Citizens Councils'

See New Klan Organized to Preserve Segregation and Destroy Labor Unions

By JAMES Y. NEWTON
Star Staff Correspondent

MIAMI BEACH, Feb. 11.—The AFL-CIO leadership today bitterly condemned "White Citizens Councils" as a "new Ku Klux Klan without hoods" which they said have been organized in the South and Border States to preserve racial segregation and destroy labor unions.

"The new Ku Klux Klan movement," said a report from the Civil Rights Committee approved by the 29-man AFL-CIO Executive Council, "counts among its leaders and sponsors corporation lawyers, bankers, industrialists, judges of courts of law, as well as local and State politicians. It also includes several Governors, United States Senators and members of the House of Representatives."

The report added "disruption and disunity sown by the White Citizens Councils and their ilk must be vigorously stamped out before they sap the spiritual strength of America at home and its leadership in the free world."

Drive to Weaken Unions

The big labor organization said "there is a close link between these organizations and the drive to weaken and destroy trade unions."

AFL-CIO President George Meany said an investigation is being made of labor unions which either bar Negroes from membership or practice segregation.

Mr. Meany also said that "certain departments" of the Federal Government have been "evading their responsibility" by dealing with contractors who do not give equal employment opportunities to Negroes. AFL-CIO Vice President James B. Carey

criticized the Government Contracts Compliance Committee as not enforcing fair employment practices.

On another matter, the Executive Council said it was greatly concerned "over the campaign of falsehoods being waged against the International Labor Organization." A move has been started among employer groups and in Congress to have the United States withdraw from the ILO, a United Nations affiliate.

Mr. Meany revealed differences with Secretary of State Dulles over whether the United States should join in proposed ILO conventions to condemn forced labor. Mr. Meany said Mr. Dulles told him in a recent talk that a simple resolution by the ILO opposing forced labor was all that was necessary. ILO conventions require Senate ratification just as do treaties.

"Every country except the United States will vote for the convention method of handling the forced labor problem," Mr. Meany said. "The Soviets will vote for it just to try to give the world the impression they are opposed to forced labor when they actually use slave laborers by the thousands. In that way they could gain a

See LABOR, Page A-3

LABOR

Continued From First Page
tremendous propaganda advantage."

Meanwhile, Mr. Meany and Charles E. Sligh, jr., chairman of the National Association of Manufacturers, finally arranged to hold their labor-management peace talk in Washington the week of February 20.

Both Mr. Meany and Mr. Sligh have expressed hope their meeting could result in a better understanding between management and unions. But they have been unable to work out a mutually satisfactory meeting time and place. Mr. Sligh has been at nearby Boca Raton attending a NAM board meeting.

AFL-CIO leaders took time off from their 10-day meeting today to take a trip on two Navy submarines sent here from Key West.

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- Mr. Holloman
- Miss Gandy

Made To Order

AT THIS writing about one-fifth of the students of the University of Alabama, reinforced by several hundred outsiders, have succeeded in creating so much disorder on the university campus that the board of trustees felt called upon to exclude Miss Autherine Lucy from attending classes or appearing on the campus. For that action the trustees gave as their reasons:

"In view of recent occurrences on the campus . . . and the acts and threats of violence participated in by outsiders, for the safety of Autherine Lucy, a student recently admitted under the order of the Federal Court, and for the safety of other students, and of faculty members of the University of Alabama, and only for that reason . . ."

IT IS CLEAR that the trustees were carefully reasoning out a defense against contempt of the United States District Court for the Northern district of Alabama, in which court they are by their very actions in contempt.

The trustees either took no steps to induce Governor Folsom or other state and local police authorities to restore order on the campus, or to control the mob or, these state and local officers failed on their own to do their duty when called upon. Gov. Folsom said not a word, nor lifted a finger to halt the mob violence.

THE ACTION here is in line with the clearly announced intent of the Alabama chapters of the White Citizens Council which was set up "to preserve segregation." These top drawer practitioners of economic pressures and law defiance certainly were not set up to preserve segregation by legal means. There are the Governor of Alabama, the State legislature, the courts and the state and local police, who are charged with the duties of governing the state, and preserving order.

It is as clear as crystal that Alabama did not need an organization of business men, bankers, lawyers, manufacturers and others, to act as an arm of

the government as such, or to operate an extra-legal government after the pattern of the law of the mob.

WITH the governmental machinery of the state in functioning order, it could do everything that could be done to "preserve segregation," but because there is no legal way to violate the law, the White Citizens Council took over the task of "preserving segregation" the only way it can be done: illegally.

With the newspapers in the state which they control, and with the tacit approval of the State to organize disorder and violence such as occurred on the campus of the University of Alabama, the White Citizens Councils have succeeded so far in "preserving segregation," temporarily at least.

They can only do this by turning the state into a geographical subdivision of the United States without respect for law and orderly government, and with the avowed intention expressed by its legislature to treat as null and void the supreme law of the land.

SIMULTANEOUSLY with the rise of mob violence on the campus of the university a circuit judge of an Alabama State court comes out and brazenly announces that he will order placed in jail any members of the United States Department of Justice who undertake to ascertain by investigation if federal laws are violated in Alabama.

This judge has no business on the bench anywhere in the United States, and he should be removed by whatever authority there is to remove him.

He is unsuited judicially or legally to sit on a court of justice and should be cast out not only of the judiciary but of the bar associations of his state and county. His action does more to incite mob violence than the irresponsible students and their friends, or the White Citizens Councils, because he represents the epitome of justice and law administration. When he assumed office he took an oath to support the very machinery of the law which he now arrogantly flouts.

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CITIZENS LEADERS AND STATES RIGHTS MOVEMENT

15,000 Urged to Fight Integration Lawfully

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Feb. 11 (P).—A plea for the South to refrain from further violence climaxed a pro-segregation rally here last night that drew a crowd estimated at 15,000.

Senator Eastland, Democrat of Mississippi, challenged the rebel-yelling throng to fight racial integration with massive resistance but without lawlessness.

As the rally ended, State Senator Sam Engelhardt admonished the audience to "go home peacefully and orderly."

Senator Eastland made only an indirect reference to recent rioting at the University of Alabama, where he once attended school.

Recalling his student days, the outspoken advocate of white supremacy declared: "I think I know the people of Alabama well, and you're not going to permit the NAACP to take over your schools."

A mob of about 3,000 threw eggs and rocks at a Negro student, Autherine Lucy, when she sought to attend class at the university Monday. She had won admittance under a Federal Court order backed by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Outlines Program

Senator Eastland outlined a three-point program for resistance against efforts to break down segregation throughout the South.

First, he said, white persons in the South must organize a "grass roots" campaign to preserve their traditional separate school systems.

The South also needs a tax-supported regional commission, he added, to "answer the vast attack and cope with the tremendous sums that are being used to misrepresent us."

"We must organize every county, city, and every community into a grass roots organization such as you represent here tonight," Senator Eastland

told the rally, sponsored by the Central Alabama Citizens Council.

He declared further that each Southern State must adopt a firm segregation policy that will enable white southerners to stall off integration for a long time.

Backs Protracted Litigation

"By changing State laws and creating new State policies which must be litigated, and which must go to the Supreme Court of the United States," he suggested, "the States can litigate this matter for an indefinite period in hostile Federal courts."

The Senator also endorsed the policy of nullification recently adopted in Alabama. A resolution passed by the Alabama Legislature declared the United States Supreme Court's ban on school segregation "null and void."

Senator Eastland told the cheering throng that "no people in the history of government have ever been forced to integrate against their will" and added:

"We must match the organizing ability and tactics of the NAACP! They have done a successful job."

"They did not submit when court decisions were against them. They fought and are still fighting. This we most certainly can do."

Police Commissioner Clyde Sellers estimated the crowd in the State-owned coliseum at 15,000.

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By JAMES Y. NEWTON
Star Staff Correspondent

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Citizens Are Councils Commended By Dixie Congressmen

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- Miss Gandy.....

Labor Chiefs Called Them Hoodless KKK

High class people...
One of the best people in the country...
The councils are in the category of...
said.

WASHINGTON (UP)— Southern congressmen said today "some of the best people" in the South have joined the Citizens Councils.

They made the statements defending the councils against charges by AFL-CIO officials that they are a "Ku Klux Klan without hoods."

Rep. Arthur Winstead (D-Miss) said "some of the best people" in the South have joined the councils "to maintain segregated schools and prevent violence."

Winstead said he did not belong to any of the councils, but he saw no reason why white Southerners should not organize to "carry out what they believe to be their constitutional and legal rights."

Rep. L. Mendel Rivers (D-SC), who also does not belong to any of the councils, said he was "not paying any attention" to the AFL-CIO. He said "irrespective of what they say, the whites in the South are going to do what they please. I believe in the councils."

Rep. W. J. Bryan Donnell (D-SC), who also does not belong to the council, said they were "needed."

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THE STATE TIMES
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BAUMGARTNER

Southern Senators Study Blast at Supreme Court

By the Associated Press

Senator Ervin, Democrat of North Carolina, says a group of Southern Senators is working on a statement generally condemning the Supreme Court.

He said the group, of which he is a member, was named by Southern Senators Wednesday meeting to study the Supreme Court actions in relation to State sovereignty. About 20 Senators attended.

They chose Senators Ervin, Russell of Georgia and Stennis of Mississippi to carry on, and Senator Ervin said last night their assignment includes a study of the school segregation issue, but is not limited to that.

Senator George, in whose office the meeting was held, said the committee is to survey the

legislative field and make a report about February 15.

"The Supreme Court has run roughshod over the States generally," said Senator Ervin, a former State Supreme Court justice.

He said that about two years ago State chief justices called for an end to Supreme Court interference in State matters, particularly Federal interference in lower courts under rules established by the Supreme Court.

He said "judicial absurdity" is shown in Supreme Court decisions in cases of concern throughout the country.

"Many of these destroy State sovereignty," he added.

Senator Ervin said his group is considering material presented at the Wednesday meeting by

Senator Thurmond, Democrat of South Carolina, who was the States Rights candidate for President in 1948.

This material included suggestions for possible approval of the doctrine of interposition. This could take the form of a declaration that the Federal

Government has only such powers as have been surrendered by the States, that the court has gone too far and that the States have not surrendered the right to operate segregated schools.

file 105-34737

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 Daily Worker _____
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126 FEB 27 1956

Date FEB 10 1956

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Handwritten signatures and initials:
 Mr. Tolson ✓
 Mr. Nichols ✓
 Mr. Boardman ✓
 Mr. Belmont ✓
 Mr. Mason ✓
 Mr. Mohr ✓
 Mr. Parsons ✓
 Mr. Rosen ✓
 Mr. Tamm ✓
 Mr. Nease ✓
 Mr. Winterrowd ✓
 Tele. Room ✓
 Mr. Holloman ✓
 Miss Gandy ✓

Handwritten notes:
 Baumgardner
 Thompson
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ADD 1 COUNCILS
 SEN. WALTER F. GEORGE (D-GA.) SAID THE ONLY CASE HE KN^F OF WAS THE ATTENDANCE AT AN "ORGANIZATION MEETING" IN GEORGIA OF GOV. MARVIN GRIFFIN AND FORMER GOV. HERMAN TALMADGE.
 HOWEVER, GEORGE SAID HE DID NOT KNOW WHETHER EITHER ACTUALLY JOINED THE ORGANIZATION. "THE NEWSPAPERS REPORTED THAT THEY WERE PRESENT AT THE MEETING WHEN IT WAS ORGANIZED," HE SAID.
 TALMADGE IS EXPECTED TO OPPOSE GEORGE IN THE GEORGIA DEMOCRATIC SENATORIAL PRIMARY THIS YEAR.
 IN MISSISSIPPI, DEMOCRATIC SEN. JAMES O. EASTLAND AND DEMOCRATIC REP. JOHN BELL WILLIAMS ANNOUNCED PUBLICLY THEY ARE MEMBERS OF THE WHITE CITIZENS COUNCIL AND "PROUD OF IT."

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CITIZENS COUNCILS

BAUMGARDNER
Feb 5 1956

**Citizens Council
Reported Putting
Out Literature**
TUSCALOOSA, Feb. 6 (AP)—
R. E. Chambliss, who said he is
a member of the Birmingham
White Citizens Council, reported
tonight he and nine other men
arrived here from Birmingham
tonight to distribute council lit-
erature.
The literature is the same as
that passed out at council meet-
ings over the South.

THE BIRMINGHAM POST-HERALD
Birmingham, Alabama
February 7, 1956

CITIZENS COUNCILS OF ALABAMA
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| Mr. Quinn | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |
| Mr. Nease | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |
| Mr. Gandy | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |

THEY CAN ACT
 Philadelphia, Pa. — What
 come over J. Edgar Hoover
 head of our great FBI?
 I can't see how he can criti-
 cize Dr. T. R. M. Howard's
 statement that the FBI can't
 solve the killings in Missis-
 sippi.
 There is a constitutional
 amendment about the right to
 vote. Certainly the FBI could in-
 vestigate the shooting of the
 Rev. George Lee, who was mur-
 dered in Belzoni, because he led
 colored people to the polls.
 It seems that everyone in the
 U.S., but the FBI, knows that
 the murder of the Rev. Mr. Lee
 stemmed from his insistence on
 being given the right to vote.
 It is also common knowledge
 that the FBI agents, who invest-
 gated the case, were sent out
 from Jackson, Miss. They are
 native, white, Missisippians.
 I believe that the FBI should
 have agents in the White Cit-
 izens Councils in the same way
 that they had agents in the
 Communist Party.
 The FBI has been long a law
 enforcement agency with a glori-
 ous record in the annals of U.S.
 police history, but in the current
 Mississippi cases, that spotless
 record has been soiled.
 The leaders of the citizen
 councils have openly boasted
 that they were going to defy the
 U.S. Supreme Court, which is
 one of the three branches of our
 Federal government.
 Without the Supreme Court,
 our laws will go to pot. It was
 the Supreme Court that checked
 Franklin D. Roosevelt, who al-
 most had control of all three
 branches of our government.
 It is up to the FBI to protect
 this branch of government,
 which has been a factor in keep-
 ing our government the great
 democracy that it is.
 MAXWELL J. GEORGE

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Horton*

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PHILADELPHIA, PA.

INQUIRER _____
 BULLETIN _____
 DAILY NEWS _____

*Phila. Afro-American
 Bulletin, Pa.*

DATE 2-4-56
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 PAGE 4
 COLUMN 4
 EDITOR *J. P. Shelton*
 TITLE OF CASE _____

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MAR 6 1956

Pike Citizens Council Unit Is Organized

MAGNOLIA—About 100 citizens of Pike County met at the Court House in Magnolia recently to organize a Chapter of the Citizens Council.

W. J. Simmons of Jackson, executive secretary of the State Organization, was present to assist with the basic work. He explained the purpose of Citizens Council and presided at a round table discussion.

Officers named are Gordon Burt Jr., of McComb, Chairman; L. Mount McDougall of Magnolia, and W. E. Ratliff also of McComb.

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McComb
C.F. Williams

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FBI RECORDS
FEB 21 1956

THE STATE TIMES
JACKSON, MISS.
2/1/56
Page 10 B Col. 5

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| FBI — NEW ORLEANS | |
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63 FEB 21 1956

UNBELIEVABLE!

They signed a petition in an attempt to get their children into the best school in town... and their world came crashing down!

Part Two

The Victims

JACKSON, Miss.

William J. Simmons is a tall and troubled young man who is administrator of the Association of Citizens Councils of Mississippi.

He is troubled most of all by any suggestion that the Citizens Councils would use force and violence in enforcing what he thinks of as the 2,000-year-old custom of segregating the races.

"We're not that kind of folks. We're decent people; we're raised right. We'd behave like we behave whether there're laws or not. We're not raving fanatics. The fanatics don't swing much weight down here.

Suppose, a visitor asked, a colored man, hitherto totally respectable, signed a petition to put his child in a white school. Would Simmons feel that a Citizens Council had the right to inspire the sort of economic boycott that could drive such a misfaken, but otherwise upright man, to bankruptcy?

"You're talking," Bill Simmons, answered, "about a situation that could not exist. Respectable people don't sign these petitions. A lot of the signers

have prison records. The ones who were respectable took their names off the petitions here in Mississippi; they say they were tricked and misled and I believe them."

LAST AUG. 6 in Yazoo City, Miss., 53 colored people petitioned the local Board of Education to admit their children to the white school.

Ten days later the Yazoo Herald published a paid advertisement listing in 14-point type the names, addresses, and telephone numbers of every one of the signers.

At the bottom ran the credit line "Published as a public service by the Citizens Council of Yazoo City."

Last night, two of those signers sat in the Mississippi office of the NAACP here and told what had happened to them and the other 51 persons on the petition.

They are not cotton-patch colored people. Jasper Mims, treasurer of NAACP, has been a carpenter in Yazoo City for 30 years; before his name appeared in the Herald, he used to earn \$150 in a good week.

"I haven't had a call for work since."

Hoover Harvey was a plumber with a largely white practice. It is all gone now, and he is down to \$20-a-week. Both of them took their names off the petition, but it did them no good.

THEIR PETITION still lies in the Board of Education headquarters; only two signatures are left, and they belong to people who have left the county for good.

Arthur Berry, president of the Yazoo City NAACP, and Mims and Harvey sat last night and ran through the long, sad roster of their economic casualties.

Nathan Stewart was the most successful colored grocer in town with an income of no less than \$300 a week. He signed the school petition along with two other merchants, Emily Ball and Charlie Ryan.

When their names appeared in that paper, every wholesaler in town refused to supply them even for cash," said Arthur Berry. "Even Coca-Cola."

COCA-COLA, NABISCO, COLD-

file 105-34237

William J. Simmons

*Afro-American
January 31, 1956*

66 FEB 29 1956

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NOT RECORDED
76 FEB. 28 1956

By MURRAY KEMPTON

al-Bread, Falstaff, Schlitz, Blue Ribbon, and Pabst Beer, their Yazoo City dealers, enfranchised by these northern corporations all united to drive these poor colored people out of business.

The Delta National Bank told Stewart "to come and get his money," said Berry. All three of these grocers have closed their stores, and Stewart has left town.

Before their final disaster all three took their names off the school petitions; it did them no good.

Even if they crawled, the Council got them just the same:

"John Covington took his name off the petition, and Ben Goldstein, the junk dealer, fired him anyway. Lilli Young signed the petition and the McGraw Lumber Co. fired her husband Harry.

She went in the A and P a few days after her name was published and picked out \$10 or \$12 worth of groceries. The man who operates the meat market came to the front of the store and said this—r woman is one of the signers of the petition and the clerk refused to sell to her.

"The Youngs went to Chicago in the early part of September."

HOOVER HARVEY was installing fixtures at the home of Joseph Hendrix, the lumber

Citizens Council published his dealers, when the Yazoo City name.

"My partner, Jimmy Wright, and I had both signed the petition. Mrs. Hendrix came in with the paper, and told us we'd better get our names off the petition. She was telling us where to go and who to see, and she said that, if we did, she'd give us the work on her daughter's house.

Jimmy went in the next day and took his name off, but he didn't get the work or any other and now he's gone to Detroit.

WHERE ARE THEY now, and who can find them, these broken and dispersed colored middle class citizens of Yazoo City, Miss.? If they were not respectable, no colored person is to the Citizens Councils; they had painfully won a kind of comfort and they destroyed it when they signed one piece of paper.

BILL SIMMONS, when he talks of colored people, talks of the kindness and courtesy of the Mississippi social system.

The Citizens Councils, he said, have no room for trash; they seek and get the best elements in the community, "the kind of cross-section that commands respect." They are patient under provocation; but Bill Simmons says that Northerners overlook one factor that would try anyone's patience.

"When you're selling something," he says, "you try to flatter your customers; you try to cultivate their goodwill. You don't go calling them smear names like Fascist and Nazi."

There is no record that those 53 colored people in Yazoo City ever called anybody anything. They signed a petition to get their children into the best school in town. And now, many of them have been driven away, and the rest remain clinging to a fraction of their former income.

The Citizens Council knows its enemy. He is the Mississippi colored person—not the northern colored person—because Mississippi cannot touch the northern colored person; it can only push and break and starve its own.

Yazoo City makes its war on women and children, and yesterday the Mississippi Economic Council held an educational meeting in the Central HS here, and an all-white choir sang a spiritual—arranged by Robert Shaw.

Dr. Albert Sidney Johnson, a minister of the Presbyterian Church, lifted his eyes to heaven and prayed to God, in the name of Jesus Christ, to preserve "the white solidarity of our country." It is God's work to destroy Jasper Mims, an old carpenter.

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BAUMGARDNER

Editorials
**New Amendment On Rights
 Of States Proposed**

*in
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Rep. Carl Vinson of Georgia is blazing the trail in Congress for a proposed amendment to the Constitution of the United States to expressly protect states' rights from invasion and destruction by judicial excesses such as the decision of the U. S. Supreme Court seeking to channel white and Negro children into the same public school classrooms.

His proposal, set out in a resolution introduced the past week and referred to the House judiciary committee, is the direct result of the U. S. Supreme Court decision against racially segregated schools.

This is the federal constitutional amendment he recommends to deal with the problem created by the decision:

"Notwithstanding any other provision in this Constitution, or any amendment thereto, the states of the United States have, and shall forever have, the right to manage their own internal affairs with respect to any matter not expressly forbidden by the Constitution."

Mr. Vinson reasons that this "states the law as it really exists today and simply reaffirms principles of constitutional government which are as old as the Constitution itself."

In introducing his resolution, he took sharp issue with the ruling of the U. S. Supreme Court that segregation in the schools is unconstitutional.

"This decision, in effect," Mr. Vinson told his colleagues in the House, "overturned at one fell swoop by judicial fiat doctrines and principles of constitutional law which had become a part of our Constitution by repeated adjudication."

The veteran Georgia congressman insisted that "the states of the Union which adopted and ratified the Constitution of the United States did not delegate to the central government of the United States the right to legislate, by statute or by judicial decree, with respect to the education of the children of the people of the several states."

*file
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THE MOBILE REGISTER
 MOBILE, ALABAMA
 JANUARY 31, 1956
 PAGE 4A (Editorial)
 by George M. Cox, Executive Editor:

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He said "the states which proposed and ratified the Constitution of the United States did not delegate to the United States the right and power to manage and direct the internal affairs of the people of the several states in matters that peculiarly affected the health, safety and welfare of the people of those states under the varying conditions existing in the several states."

He stands firm, he said, in believing that the states have a "right to manage their internal affairs and to legislate for the health, morals and safety of their citizens in all matters which are not expressly forbidden to the states and to the people of these states by the Constitution" of the United States.

This, he declared, is "what the Founding Fathers meant" in writing into the Bill of Rights that "the powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the states, are reserved to the states respectively, or to the people."

Clearly and emphatically, this provision in the U. S. Constitution—the tenth amendment—is a states' rights declaration. But, unfortunately, states' rights have been trespassed upon from Washington time and again until now the U. S. Supreme Court has gone so far as to hold that racial segregation in the schools is prohibited by the federal Constitution.

Congressman Vinson's resolution proposing a new states' rights amendment to the Constitution is a significant further illustration of the manner in which congressional supporters of states' rights have begun to associate themselves openly and actively with the spreading movement in the South to fight by every legal means to safeguard the institution of racial segregation in the public schools.

Congress may submit a proposed constitutional amendment to the states by two-thirds vote of each branch. For a proposed amendment to become a part of the federal Constitution, ratification is necessary from three-fourths of the states, acting through their legislatures or through conventions.

Congressman Vinson has started the wheels in motion. His proposal may pick up speed as the fight to preserve racial segregation in the schools gain ground.

Line Forms to Left:

'Get Eastland' Move

By FULTON LEWIS JR.

WASHINGTON: The drums beat more stridently, calling on those who profess themselves "liberals" to rendezvous, preparatory to taking the warpath for the scalp of Senator James O. Eastland.

The clan is gathering in full war dress, including such as the Louisville Courier-Journal, the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, Americans for Democratic Action and the anticipated "37 prominent Americans," with a telegram of protest. The Communist Daily Worker, which inaugurated the rhythmic cadence, cheers lustily for each new ally.

Eastland's crimes, in the eyes of leftists wearing "liberal" dress, are twofold. First, as chairman of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, he doggedly pursues his search for Communist infiltration wherever it may be found, refusing to kow-tow even to such sacred cows as the New York Times.

Because he has the temerity to call public attention to the ex-Commies on the Times staff, it accuses him of singling it out for retaliation. But by and large, most newspapers around the country say the public is entitled to know if Communists have attempted to infiltrate the press.

The Louisville Courier-Journal and St. Louis Post-Dispatch editorially decry the Eastland Committee's inquiry into past associations of Times staff members; the latter accompanies its denunciation with a cartoon depicting a dragon-like creature with a gross, stubbled, McCarthy-esque face, front legs labeled "Eastland," rear legs tagged "Jenner." Indiana's GOP Sen. William Jenner, of course, is ranking Republican member of Eastland's subcommittee.

The anti-Eastland telegram is sponsored by something calling itself Americans for Traditional Liberties. Nobody around Washington seems to have heard of it before.

Setting up its own straw man, the telegram defiantly proclaims that "the organs of the Senate must not be used to intimidate or control our free press," which nobody has tried to do anyway. Bristling with long-familiar cliches such as "shabby device . . . discredit an internationally respected newspaper . . . underhand attacks," it calls on the Senate "to take appropriate action immediately."

Signers include such familiar petitioners as commentator Elmer Davis, Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr, and AFL-CIO Vice President A. Philip Randolph.

The telegram merits a Daily Worker editorial headlined, "Un-American Symbol." "The people," it says, "are finally catching up to the un-American conspiracy headed and symbolized by Mississippi's Sen. James O. Eastland . . . There is a growing realization that federal indifference to Eastland and other political racists is a disservice to America—that Eastland should be expelled from the Senate."

The "ADA World" editorially bewails the fact that the Senate has voted \$285,000 for expenses of the Internal Security Subcommittee.

I call attention to these various tidbits simply so that when and if they erupt into another censure fight, as they well may do, readers will know whence they originated.

Fulton Lewis Jr. can be heard on WOR 7 p.m. Monday through Friday.

- Tolson
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- Belmont
- Mason
- Mohr
- Parsons
- Rosen
- Tamm
- Nease
- Winterrowd
- Tele. Room
- Holloman
- Gandy

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126 FEB 8 1956

- Wash. Post and Times Herald
- Wash. News
- Wash. Star
- N. Y. Herald Tribune
- N. Y. Mirror
- N. Y. Daily News
- Daily Worker
- The Worker
- New Leader

NY JOURNAL-AMERICAN
p. 10
Date JAN 30 1956

68 FEB 1

State Legislator Calls Mass Rally To Aid Southern White Council Victims

By RICHARD HENRY BARNES

PHILADELPHIA.—The Honorable Susie Monroe, Negro woman member of the Pennsylvania House of Representatives from the 5th District of Philadelphia, has announced the holding of a mass meeting the purpose of which is "to work for the adoption of the Monroe Resolution (H.126)—and to rally the greatest aid to the people of the South who have been victimized by the White Citizens Councils."

The Monroe Resolution (H-126) urges the legislature of Pennsylvania to memorialize Congress to take action to protect the citizen rights of the Negro in the South.

★

MRS. MONROE announced the gathering in a letter sent to better than a hundred individuals and organizations from whom she had received messages of support for Resolution H-126.

The letter from legislator Monroe read as follows:
"Dear friend:

"I want to thank you for your support of my resolution H-126 requesting that the legislature of Pennsylvania memorialize the Congress of the United States on the following:

- "(1) To investigate the charge that duly qualified Negro citizens in Mississippi were forcibly prevented from voting.
- "(2) If the charge is true, to urge that Congress provide adequate protection for Negro citizens to vote for candidates of their choice



EMMETT TILL

without molestation.

"(3) If the charge is true, to reduce the Mississippi representation in the Federal House of Representatives from 6 to 3 in accordance with the 14th Amendment of our Constitution.

"We are holding a mass meeting at the Faith Tabernacle Baptist Church-Mutchmore, 1728 West Montgomery Avenue, Sunday, Feb. 12, 1956. 3:30 p.m. The pastor Rev. E. T. Lewis is giving his fullest support."

REP. MONROE introduced the "Monroe Resolution" (H-126) into the lower chamber in Harrisburgh shortly after the brutal lynch-murder of Emmett Louis Till in Mississippi. And since then, support for

H-126 has been growing.

Among the organizations and churches that have endorsed H-126 are: The Executive Board, Window Cleaners Union, Local 125, AFL-CIO; Penna. Brewery, Soft Drink and Distillery Council, CIO; Machine Tool and Die Makers, UE, Local 155; Phila. Municipal Hospital Employes, Local 488; Phila. Jewish Cultural Club; Pinn Memorial Baptist Church, 44th & Westminster Sts.; Metropolitan AME Church, 20th & Fitzwater; North Phila District Annual Conerence AME Church; Mars Hill Baptist Church, 1756 N. Alder St.; Block Committee, 2500 Marston St.; Corlies Street Improvement Club; Block Committee, 1900 N. Hollywood St.; D.A.S. Club; Labor Youth League, Phila.; Wingfield Relief Club.

Over one hundred individuals have written letters urging passage of H-126. Among these letters are one from Congressman Earl Chudoff of the 4th Congressional District and one from the Chairman of the City Committee of the Democratic Party of Philadelphia, William Green.

A Till murder protest meeting, attended by more than 5,000 persons and sponsored by the local NAACP at Tindley Temple AME Church, last October unanimously endorsed the Monroe Resolution.

Three week later, 2,000 persons attending an Aid-to-the-South rally sponsored by the Baptist Ministers' Conference of Greater Phila. and vicinity likewise voted one-hundred percent insupport of H-126.

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 Wash. Star _____
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 N. Y. Mirror _____
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 Daily Worker _____
 The Worker _____
 New Leader _____

 Date _____

**Citizens Council
For Interposition
Officers, Directors
Sign Resolutions**

Officers and executive committee of the state organization of Citizens' Councils, meeting in Jackson, endorsed legislative action to effect interposition, "expressing the positive assertion and enforcement of the sovereignty of the State of Mississippi against encroachments upon the reserved powers of Mississippi."

The resolution urged the legislature to adopt a suitable interposition resolution and also legislation to extend protection of law to those who enforce the resolution; it commended public officials for furthering the doctrine of interposition, urged local Citizens' Councils to support the doctrine and stated as a "guiding principle, the plain assertion of state sovereignty as that course of action best designed to meet the deadly peril to this public and to our state generated by alien ideologies and forces."

The resolution was signed by: William J. Simmons, H. D. Myers, Tom P. Brady, J. B. Cunningham, M. L. Branch, Z. M. Veazey, Jr., Robert B. Patterson, Ellett Lawrence, M. F. Simpson, J. O. Hollis, B. F. Heath, Pete F. Williams, Sr., Fred Jones, Ellis W. Wright, Wilburn Hooker, Fred A. Anderson, Will E. Ward, E. J. Herdy, Jack Armstrong, H. E. Boyer, Britt, George Buchanan, Edgar McCaa.

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THE CLARION-LEDGER
JACKSON, MISS.

1/28/56

Page 1 Col 14

FEB 24 1956

Bureau

Negro Still Planning Mississippi Flight

CHICAGO, Jan. 27 (AP).—A Chicago Negro radio disc jockey said today he has not changed his plans to fly over Mississippi February 12, dropping leaflets carrying reprints of the United States Constitution.

Al Benson of Station WGES told newsmen he has written to the Governor, secretary of State and other officials of Mississippi asking them whether any State law would prohibit such a flight. He has received no answer yet, he added. He plans to charter a private plane and said he might distribute from 50,000 to 100,000 leaflets.

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- Wash. Post and Times Herald
- Wash. News
- Wash. Star *122*
- N. Y. Herald Tribune
- N. Y. Mirror
- N. Y. Daily News
- Daily Worker
- The Worker
- New Leader

NOT RECORDED
26 FEB 7 1956

Date JAN 27 1956

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Feb 1 1956

Councils ~~and~~ Councils Endorse 'Veto'

By ROBERT WEBB
State Times Staff Writer

Mississippi's 70,000-plus Citizens Council members Friday urged immediate enactment of an interposition resolution by the legislature.

Acting in the wake of the Richmond governors conference, the councils gave interposition their "unqualified" support.

Members of the executive committee of the Association of Citizens Councils of Mississippi drafted and approved the endorsement resolution yesterday.

State administrator W. J. Simmons said the committee, acting for the association, strongly favors interposition as the best method of attacking the Supreme Court's school integration decision.

Gov. J. P. Coleman and three other Southern governors, meeting at Richmond, recommended their legislatures enact resolutions asserting the states' sovereign opposition to the high court edict.

In its resolution, the councils' executive committee said that:

"The doctrine of interposition, as expressing the positive assertion and enforcement of the sovereignty of the state of Mississippi against encroachments upon the reserved powers of Mississippi, explicitly stated in the constitution of the United States, has the strong and

unqualified support of this committee."

The legislature was urged by the committee to "adopt forthwith a resolution of interposition declaring in plain and unequivocal language that the racial integration decrees of the US supreme court are usurpations of power not granted, and that said decrees are therefore illegal, invalid and of no force and effect within the boundaries of the sovereign state of Mississippi, and that the state is not bound to abide thereby."

Signing the councils' act were these committeemen: Simmons, H. D. Myers, Prentiss; Judge Thomas P. Brady, Brookhaven; J. B. Cunningham, Macon; M. L. Branch, Winona; Z. M. Veazy Jr., Senatobia; Robert B. Patterson, Winona, executive secretary; Ellett Lawrence, Greenwood, finance chairman; M. F. Simpson, Canton; J. O. Hollis, Carthage; B. F. Heath, Winona, treasurer; Pete F. Williams Sr., Clarksdale; Fred Jones, Inverness; Ellis W. Wright, Jackson; Wilburn Hooker, Lexington; Fred A. Anderson, Gloster; and Will E. Ward, Starkville.

- Mr. Tolson _____
- Mr. Nichols _____
- Mr. Boardman _____
- Mr. Belmont _____
- Mr. Mason _____
- Mr. Mohr _____
- Mr. Parsons _____
- Mr. Rosen _____
- Mr. Tamm _____
- Mr. Nease _____
- Mr. Winterrowd _____
- Tele. Room _____
- Mr. Holloman _____
- Miss Gandy _____

C. F. [Signature]

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STATE TIMES
JACKSON, MISS.

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Bureau

United We Stand

Four Southern governors, including South Carolina's Governor Timmerman, joined together this week in a united stand against the encroachment of the federal government upon the rights of the states.

The four, Governors Thomas B. Stanley, Virginia, Timmerman, South Carolina, J. P. Coleman, Mississippi, and Marvin Griffin, Georgia, held a six hour conference Tuesday in Richmond. Governor Luther Hodges, North Carolina, whose Legislature is not meeting, sat in as an observer.

At the close of the session Governor Timmerman read this statement:

"This conference, composed of the governors of the four Southern states whose legislatures are in regular session does declare:

"That the states have not delegated to the federal government or any agency thereof the power to prohibit the segregation of the races in public schools and we, therefore, shall recommend to the legislatures of our respective states that the following action be taken:

"1. That there be adopted a resolution of interposition or protest in appropriate language against the encroachment of the central government upon the sovereignty of the several states and their people.

"2. That a call be made

upon the Congress of the United States to take such action within the limits of its constitutional authority as to protect the states and their people against present and future encroachment by the central government.

"3. That each state exercise its right to enact and utilize such other appropriate legal measures as it may deem advisable to protect its sovereignty and the rights of its people."

The Herald believes that this statement may well mark the turning point in the South's fight against government by decree. The nation can ill afford to ignore the united front presented by these four states.

There are many in this country who conscientiously believe that segregation is morally wrong. But so long as we have a government of laws and not of men, the ends cannot be used to justify the means. And in this case we believe the means used by the Supreme Court, in an order to the states in the name of the federal government to cease the operation of segregated schools, EXCEEDS THE CONSTITUTIONAL AUTHORITY OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT.

If and when integration comes to the South, it must be by the will of the people of the South. Tolerance can not be forced, nor prejudice outlawed by federal fiat.

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*1 photo to Tompkins
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THE HERRY HERALD
Conway, South Carolina
January 27, 1956

Lem Winesett - Publisher
Charles G. Joyner - Editor

66 FEB 13 1956

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Bureau

Interposition

There was more wind than precipitation in the storm blown up by the four Southern Governors in their meeting at Richmond to discuss "interposition." This is the doctrine that has been dredged up from pre-Civil War days for opposition to the Supreme Court decision forbidding public school segregation. In its extreme form it would mean outright defiance—that is, the "interposing" of state sovereignty between the Supreme Court and the effect of its decision on the people. This, of course, would amount to nullification. Significantly, however, there was a conspicuous avoidance of nullification talk at Richmond. From present indications the practical result of the resolutions of interposition to be supported by the Governors, as well as of those in the Virginia Assembly, will be merely to register a strong protest.

Now, a strong protest against the Supreme Court decision is certainly within the rights of any group. But an attempt to carry out actual interposition, which would mean nullification, would be foredoomed to bitter failure. For the theory rests on a distortion of history. It goes on the assumption that the Constitution was a compact between the states and that the states never surrendered their "right" to operate separate schools. But the Constitution was far more than a mere compact between undiminished sovereignties; it was the Charter for a Nation. History, and historical usage in interpretation of the Constitution by the Supreme Court, have long since overruled nullification.

As Irving Brant related in this newspaper last Sunday, Madison, whose views are cited to support interposition, actually opposed precisely this sort of gimmick with all the power in him. Jefferson, who also has been quoted in support of nullification, spoke of a *natural* right to nullify—meaning revolution. Do supporters of interposition, who omit the key word *natural*, contemplate revolution or secession as a practical possibility? Obviously not.

It requires little imagination to see the pernicious effects of this doctrine if it were to obtain a foothold. There would be a chaos of competing "sovereignties" seeking to nullify actions with which they disagreed, and it would be impossible to operate a Nation. That is the primary reason why interposition could not succeed. The Civil War settled the fact that the United States is a union, and the Supreme Court's rulings are the law of the land unless and until the situation is changed by national legislation or deliberate constitutional amendment. A mere exercise in legalism over interposition probably is of no great harm, but the sad thing is that it serves to distract attention from the gradual but inevitable compliance which the states know is their obligation as members of the Union.

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Date *1-26-56*

From THE NEW YORK TIMES
issue of JAN. 26/56

4 IN CONGRESS HIT HIGH COURTS RULE

WASHINGTON, Jan. 25 (UP) - Four Southern Democratic members of Congress urged Southern states today to join in defying the Supreme Court's ruling against racially segregated schools and assailed the court as "irresponsible *** a political, sociological outfit" that has "committed an act of treason against the Constitution." Rep. John Bell Williams (D.-Miss) said the southern states must "interpose" their sovereign authority and declare the ruling invalid within their territorial limits. Rep. L. Mendel Rivers (D.-S.C.) said the court had virtually invited the states to interpose and nullify its ruling to avoid "riots and bloodshed." Two Georgia Democrats - Reps. John J. Flynt, Jr. and James C. Davis - also endorsed Mr. Williams' proposal. Rep. Charles A. Boyle (D.-Ill.) told Mr. Williams in a protest: "I don't think we win anything when we deprecate the Supreme Court by a lot of loose language."

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Jan. 25 (UP) - Gov. James E. Folsom said today that Alabama's "nullification" resolution, the first in the South directed against U.S. Supreme Court segregation rulings, was "just a simple piece of paper - that's no legal ground to it" and suggested that "nullification through a constitutional convention might "tote some water," but for the Legislature to declare Supreme Court rulings null and void was "like a dog baying at the moon and claiming it's treed." He declined to state if he would veto the joint resolution passed by the Alabama Legislature last week and he has until Monday to act on it. The resolution went through the Legislature last week with little opposition. It declares the ruling on segregated schools to be "null, void and of no effect" in Alabama.

Bills Aimed at Press

Atlanta, Jan. 25 - Measures apparently aimed at intimidation of newspapers in large cities in Georgia were introduced in the State Legislature today by leaders of Gov. Marvin Griffin's administration. Two identical bills, bearing enough signatures to insure passage, were introduced in the

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House and Senate and would enable any publication having a circulation of more than 50 in 10 counties to be sued in any county in the state. The present libel laws require that action be filed in the county in which the publication is published. Georgia has 159 counties. Observers said the measures were clearly designed as punitive action against newspapers that have been critical of certain state government activities.

Curb on N. A. A. C. P. Sought

JACKSON, Miss., Jan. 25 (AP) - The Mississippi House of Representatives today passed, 121 to 2, a bill seeking to curb the desegregation activities of the Nat'l. Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and now goes to the Senate. The bill would make it a misdemeanor punishable by six months in jail and/or \$1,000 fine for anyone who would: "*** incite a riot, or breach of the peace, or public disturbance, or disorderly assembly, by soliciting, or advocating, or urging, or encouraging disobedience to any law of the State of Mississippi, and nonconformance with the established traditions, customs and usages of the State of Mississippi."

Links Ban Ordered Lifted

NASHVILLE, Tenn., Jan. 2 - Desegregation of Nashville municipal golf courses was ordered today by a Federal District Court here. It was the second major southern city in which desegregation of public recreational facilities had been established by court order inasmuch as a similar ruling was handed down in Atlanta last month. The Tenn. Federation for Constitutional Government brought an action late yesterday, requesting a court order prohibiting the State Treasurer from allotting money to Austin Peay State College, Clarksville, where 2 Negroes are enrolled in a graduate school; and the state government announced it would fight the suit.

Governors in South Hit

In a letter sent to Govs. Thomas B. Stanley of Virginia, Marvin Griffin of Ga., J.P. Coleman of Miss. and Geo. Bell Timmerman, Jr. of South Carolina,

Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of The Nat'l Ass. for the Advancement of Colored People, accused the Governors of falsely invoking the doctrine of states' rights to perpetuate segregation of the races and declared that "nothing in the Constitution assigned to the states the right to abridge in any manner the constitutional civil rights of the individual."

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 Miss Gandy _____

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NEW YORK TIMES,

4 IN CONGRESS HIT HIGH COURT'S RULE

Bid Southern States Join Move to Defy Bench Over School Segregation

WASHINGTON, Jan. 25 (UP)—Four Southern Democratic members of Congress urged Southern states today to join in defying the Supreme Court's ruling against racially segregated schools.

They assailed the court as "irresponsible * * * a political, sociological outfit" that has "committed an act of treason against the Constitution."

Representative John Bell Williams, Democrat of Mississippi, said the southern states must "interpose" their sovereign authority and declare the ruling invalid within their territorial limits.

Representative L. Mendel Rivers, Democrat of South Carolina, said the court had virtually invited the states to interpose and nullify its ruling to avoid "riots and bloodshed."

Two Georgia Democrats—Representatives John J. Flynt Jr. and James C. Davis—also endorsed Mr. Williams' proposal.

Representative Charles A. Boyle, Democrat of Illinois, protested against the attacks on the Supreme Court.

"I don't think we win anything when we deprecate the Supreme Court by a lot of loose language," Mr. Boyle told Mr. Williams.

'Nullification' Discounted

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Jan. 25 (AP)—Gov. James E. Folsom said today that Alabama's "nullification" resolution, the first in the

tion rulings, was "just a simple piece of paper—that's no legal ground to it."

The Governor suggested that "nullification" through a constitutional convention might "tote some water," but he said for the Legislature to declare Supreme Court rulings null and void was "like a dog baying at the moon and claiming it's treed."

Mr. Folsom declined to state at a news conference if he would veto the joint resolution passed by the Alabama Legislature last week. He has until Monday to act on it.

The "nullification" or "interposition" resolution went through the Legislature last week with little opposition. It declares the Supreme Court's ruling on segregated schools to be "null, void and of no effect" in Alabama.

Other Southern states are considering similar resolutions.

Bills Aimed at Press

Special to The New York Times.

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The bills bore enough signatures to insure passage. It was clear, observers said, that the measures were designed as punitive action against newspapers that have been critical of certain state government activities.

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It was the second major southern city in which desegregation of public recreational facilities had been established by court order. A similar ruling applying to Atlanta was handed down last month.

Meanwhile, the state government announced it would fight a suit aimed at blocking public funds for state colleges that permit desegregated classes.

The Tennessee Federation for Constitutional Government brought the action late yesterday, requesting a court order prohibiting the State Treasurer from allotting money to Austin Peay State College, Clarksville, where two Negroes are enrolled in graduate school.

Governors in South Hit

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

People accused the Governor of four Southern states yesterday of falsely invoking the doctrine of states' rights to perpetuate segregation of the races.

Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the association, declared that "nothing in the Constitution assigns to the states the right to abridge in any manner the constitutional, civil rights of the individual."

The charge was contained in a letter sent to Govs. Thomas B. Stanley of Virginia, Marvin Griffin of Georgia, J. P. Coleman of Mississippi and George Bell Timmerman Jr. of South Carolina.

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CHICAGO--A NEGRO DISC JOCKEY SAID TODAY HE HAS RECEIVED A GREEN LIGHT FROM THE CAA TO DROP REPRINTS OF THE U.S. CONSTITUTION ON THE STATE OF MISSISSIPPI FROM A PRIVATE AIRPLANE.

AL BENSON, VETERAN CHICAGO BROADCASTER, PLANS TO DROP THE REPRINTS ON LINCOLN'S BIRTHDAY, FEB. 12, TO PROTEST ALLEGED "PERSECUTIONS" OF NEGROES IN HIS HOME STATE OF MISSISSIPPI.

BENSON SAID HE ASKED THE CAA WHETHER THERE WAS ANY LEGAL BARRIER TO HIS PLAN AND WAS TOLD IN A LETTER FROM CAA ADMINISTRATOR C. J. LOWEN THAT THERE IS NONE, PROVIDED "REASONABLE PRECAUTIONS ARE TAKEN TO AVOID INJURY OR DAMAGE TO PERSONS OR PROPERTY."

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